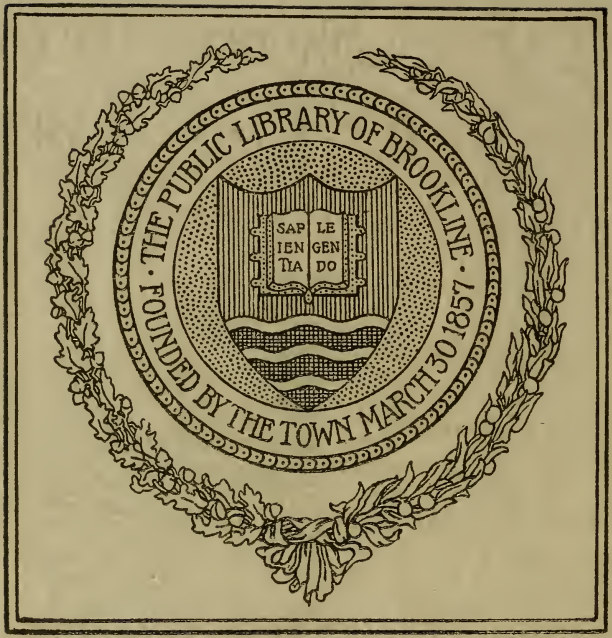

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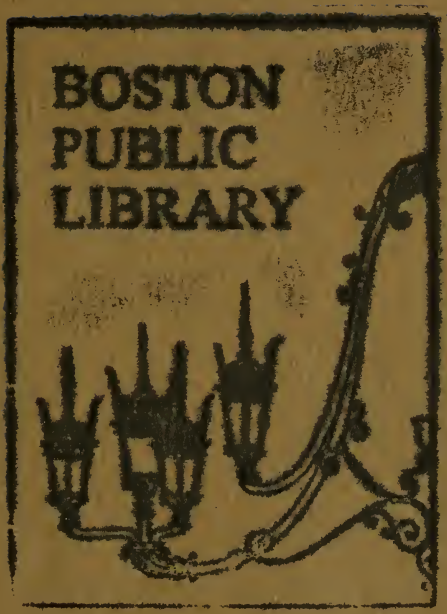
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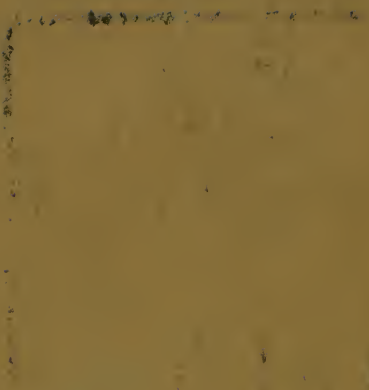

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF MASSACHUSETTS POLITICS

FROM RUSSELL TO McCALL
1890-1915

BY

MICHAEL E. HENNESSY

FOREWORD BY HENRY CABOT LODGE

BOSTON, MASS.
PRACTICAL POLITICS, INC.
1917

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36

TO

JAMES MORGAN

WHO HAS HONORED ME WITH HIS FRIENDSHIP

FOR TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

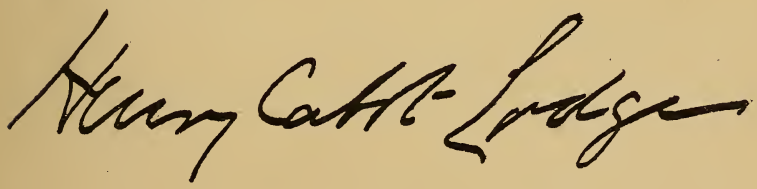
FOREWORD

There is a common saying that the history of which each man knows least is that which covers the period immediately preceding his own birth, for it has not yet been written and he can learn nothing about it except from the memory of his elders. Those years, indeed, have joined the long procession of their predecessors, but the time has not arrived to recount their story in enduring form and so there is a gulf between the point at which our history, biography and memoirs cease to tell us of the past, and the present which is actually before our eyes.

A book like Mr. Hennessy's, therefore, has both value and usefulness, because it contains a great array of facts, carefully verified and clearly arranged, which it is almost impossible for any man readily to find without, in many cases at least, great labor and research. But Mr. Hennessy's book is much more than this—far more than a compilation of facts and figures. It gives the impressions made upon a trained observer of politics, and of the men engaged in them, during a quarter of a century.

Although it professes to deal only with Massachusetts, in following the fortunes of the State one is led insensibly and necessarily into the wider fields of national elections and of national campaigns. Mr. Hennessy has made good use of all his opportunities and with practiced hand, and a keen interest in his subject gives us not only a picture of the time which he depicts, and which will always be of value as the impression of one who was both chronicler and critic from day to day, but he also offers us brief and well drawn sketches of the men who have been conspicuous in the public life of the State, portraits which possess all the vividness that springs from personal acquaintance and careful observation.

For those who come after us it is always well to learn, in Browning's words, "how it strikes a contemporary," and when the history of Massachusetts during the last twenty-five years shall be written by some historian still unborn he will find Mr. Hennessy's book not only one of his best authorities but the attraction of the personal note, inseparate from the man who describes events of which he was a part.



AUTHOR'S NOTE

In this book I have recorded the important State and National political events of the past 25 years in Massachusetts and something of the men who had to do with those events. The record begins with 1890 when Governor John Q. A. Brackett, Republican, was defeated for re-election by William E. Russell, the Democratic candidate; and it ends with the gubernatorial election of 1915, when Samuel W. McCall, the Republican candidate, defeated for re-election Governor David I. Walsh, the Democratic incumbent of the office.

I was tempted to undertake this work because of my long and intimate acquaintance, as political reporter on the Boston Globe, with the men and events of this interesting period of Massachusetts politics.

In order to keep the work within reasonable bounds it has been necessary to outline briefly many things that may seem—and undoubtedly are—worthy of more extensive elucidation and comment. But this would make a work of many volumes so I have merely recorded the essential facts in logical and chronological order without too much of comment. And, such as it is, it is submitted in the hope that it will meet a necessity—the necessity of those who take an active interest in Massachusetts politics and in her public men.

The founders of this Commonwealth were noble men and women. On the bleak shores of Massachusetts Bay they built their homes, erected their meeting house and public school. Here they worked out their own ideas of self-government, encouraged thrift, education, respect for authority and that love of freedom which they transmitted to future generations through their descendants and their cherished institutions.

It is a thrilling story, filled with the heroic deeds of her sons whose service to humanity the world over is unsurpassed if indeed it is equalled by any other Commonwealth on the American continent. She welcomes to her borders the oppressed of every land, clothes them with the beauty and majesty of her statehood, asking only in return loyalty and devotion to her ideals.

Sometimes in the strife and turmoil of politics we are apt to forget this splendid heritage, but when the smoke of political battle disappears victor and vanquished gladly acknowledge its greatness and hasten to help preserve the fair name of a Commonwealth whose contributions to art, science, literature, education, freedom, charity and humanitarianism challenge the admiration of the world.

Boston, July, 1916. M. E. H.

CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword	VII
Author's Note	IX
Chapter I—Election of William E. Russell Governor	1
Chapter II—Russell's First Term as Governor	10
Chapter III—Reelection of Gov Russell	19
Chapter IV—National and State Campaigns, 1892	29
Chapter V—Gov Russell's Third Term	35
Chapter VI—Greenhalge's First Term as Governor	45
Chapter VII—Second and Third Terms of Greenhalge	54
Chapter VIII—National and State Campaigns, 1896	63
Chapter IX—Roger Wolcott's Administration	72
Chapter X—Gov Crane's First Term	86
Chapter XI—National and State Campaigns, 1900	90
Chapter XII—Crane's Second and Third Terms	95
Chapter XIII—Gov Bates' First Term	104
Chapter XIV—Gov Bates Reelected	112
Chapter XV—National and State Campaigns, 1904	119
Chapter XVI—Gov Bates Defeated	128
Chapter XVII—Death of Senator Hoar	133
Chapter XVIII—Douglas and His Single Term	138
Chapter XIX—State Campaign of 1905	147
Chapter XX—Guild and Draper's First Term	154
Chapter XXI—Moran's Unsuccessful Fight for Governor	162
Chapter XXII—Guild's Second Term	170
Chapter XXIII—Famous "Pink Ticket" Convention	176
Chapter XXIV—Third Term of Gov Guild	185
Chapter XXV—National Campaign of 1908	192
Chapter XXVI—State Campaign of 1908	201
Chapter XXVII—Draper and Frothingham's First Term	206
Chapter XXVIII—Foss Joins Democrats	211
Chapter XXIX—Second Term of Draper	218
Chapter XXX—Foss Beats Buchanan for Congress	223
Chapter XXXI—Foss for Governor	227

Page

Chapter XXXII—State and Congressional Campaigns, 1910 . 235
Chapter XXXIII—Foss Fails to Defeat Senator Lodge . . 241
Chapter XXXIV—Speakership Contest, 1911 251
Chapter XXXV—Foss' First Term as Governor . . . 256
Chapter XXXVI—State Campaign, 1911 267
Chapter XXXVII—Foss' Second Term 273
Chapter XXXVIII—Massachusetts' Part in National Campaign 1912 281
Chapter XXXIX—National Convention, 1912 287
Chapter XL—Birth of Bull Moose Party 296
Chapter XLI—National and State Campaigns, 1912 . . . 303
Chapter XLII—John W. Weeks Elected U S Senator . . 313
Chapter XLIII—Gov Foss' Third Term 324
Chapter XLIV—Leading Up to State Campaign, 1913 . . 335
Chapter XLV—State Campaign, 1913 341
Chapter XLVI—Aftermath State Campaign,, 1913 . . . 351
Chapter XLVII—Gov Walsh's First Term 356
Chapter XLVIII—Second Administration of Gov Walsh . 365
Chapter XLIX—Contest for Republican Gubernatorial Nomination, 1915 378
Chapter L—Samuel W. McCall Defeats Walsh . . . 384
Chapter LI—The Passing of Walsh—State "Redeemed" . . 392

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A

Page

Allen, Charles H. 40
Ames, Butler 198

B

Barry, Edward J. 340
Bartlett, Charles W., Gen. . 152
Bates, John L., Gov. 104
Baxter, Charles S. 278
Belmont, August 268
Benton, Everett C. 340
Bigney, Sidney O. 366
Billings, Edmund 366
Bird, Charles Sumner 274
Boutwell, George S. 204
Boynton, Thomas J. 348
Brackett, John Q. A. 10
Brooks, William H. 320
Buckley, Daniel F. 182
Burnett, Robert M. 172
Butler, William M. 60

C

Callahan, Christopher T. ... 66
Carter, William H. 352
Cassidy, Thomas F. 254
Champlin, Edgar R. 278
Cleveland, Grover, Pres. ... 29
Coakley, Daniel H. 366
Cole, Charles H., Gen. 144
Cole, John N. 222
Collins, Patrick A., Gen. 14
Conry, Joseph A. 182
Coolidge, Calvin 228
Coolidge, Frederick S. 14
Coolidge, Louis A. 268
Coolidge, William H. 278
Corcoran, John W., Gen. ... 14
Cortelyou, George B., giving out bulletins at Buffalo .. 96
Cosgrove, Daniel 274
Coughlin, John W. 66
Crane, Winthrop M. Sen. ... 136
Crapo, William W. 40
Crowley, Robert J. 246
Cummings, John W. 82
Curley, James M. 284
Currier, Guy W. 340
Curtis, Edwin U. 50
Cushing, Grafton D. 268

D

Dallinger, Frederick W. ... 216
Doherty, Daniel F. 182
Donahoe, Frank J. 348
Donovan, James 36
Douglas, William L 138
Draper, Eben S., Gov. 211
Draper, Wm. F., Gen., Statue 288

F

Feeney, John P. 172
Fitzgerald, John F. 82
Foss, Eugene N., Gov. 235
Foss, Taft and Mayor Fitzgerald at Evacuation Day Parade 292
Frothingham, Louis A. 198

G

Gallivan, James A. 352
Galvin, J. Mitchel 204
Gardner, Augustus P. 222
Gaston, William A., Col. ... 112
Gillett, Frederick H. 332
Gove, Jesse M. 50
Greenhalge, Fred'k T., Gov. 45
Greenwood Levi H. 260
Guild, Curtis, Jr., Gov. 162
Guild's, Curtis Funeral Scenes 374

H

Page

Hale, Matthew 274
Hamlin, Charles S. 112
Hammond, John Hays 198
Harrison, Benjamin, Pres. .. 20
Hart, Thomas N. 40
Hatfield, Charles E. 320
Hayes, William P. 246
Hitchcock, Frank H. 222
Hoar, George Frisbie Statue 132
Hoar, Roger Sherman 260
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Judge 100
Houghton, Albert C. 36
Howland, Willard 82

I

Innes, Charles H. 228

K

Kieth, Eben S. S. 260
Keliher, John A. 182
Kimball, James W. 60
Knowlton, Hosea M., Judge 100

L

Langtry, Albert P. 320
Lawrence, George P. 60
Lodge, Henry Cabot, Sen... 241
Lodge, Taft and Mayor Farrell at Malden Celebration 292
Lomasney, Martin M. 254
Luce, Robert 198

M

Malley, John F. 268
Macleod, Frederick J. 246
Malone, Dana 66
Mansfield, Frederick W. ... 348
Maynard, Joseph A. 246
McCall, Samuel W., Gov. ... 392
McCall on his way to the Polls 380
McCall and Legislative Committee, 1892 384
McGregor, Alexander 260
McKinley, William, Pres. .. 90
McLaughlin, Edward F. 60
McNary, William S. 66
Meany, John F. 352
Meyer, George von L. 50
Miles, Nelson A., Gen. 144
Moody, William H., Judge . 100
Moran, John B. 172
Murray, Michael J., Judge . 100
Murray, William F. 284

O

O'Connell, Joseph F. 204
Olney, Richard 14
Olney, Richard, 2nd 352
O'Neil, Joseph H. 6

P

Paige, Calvin D. 332
Paine, Robert Treat, Jr. ... 82
Pearson, Gardner I., Gen. .. 144
Pelletier, Joseph C. 332
Peters, Andrew J. 112
Pillsbury, Albert E. 40
Pinkerton, Alfred S. 50
Plunkett, William B. 320
Powers, Samuel L. 152
Progressive Party Certificate 296

Q

Quincy, Josiah 6

R

Roberts, Ernest W. 216
Rogers, John J. 216
Roosevelt, Theodore, Pres. . 119
Roosevelt Being Interviewed by Reporters 96
Roosevelt at Harvard 220
Roosevelt and Taft in Inaugural Parade 296
Russell, John E. 36
Russell, William E. 1

S

Page

Shaw, William 366
Stopford, William, Gen. 144
Stratton, Charles S. 112
Sullivan, John A. 204
Supreme Court of Massachusetts in Session 396
Swift, James M. 228

T

Taft Greeting Wilson at White House 326
Taft Shaking Hands with Charles E. Hatfield 306
Taft, William H. Pres. 192
Tague, Peter F. 216
Thacher, Thomas C. 152
Tinkham, George Holden ... 278
Treadway, Allen T. 254
Trefry, William D. T. 6

V

Vahey, James H. 172

W

Walker, Joseph 274
Walsh, David I. 356
Walsh, Joseph 340
Wardwell, J. Otis 348
Warren, Bently W. 36
Washburn, Charles G. 222
Washburn, Robert M. 254
Weeks, John W. Senator .. 313
Weeks, Senator, Entering the Capitol 380
Whipple, Sherman L. 284
White, John E. 228
White, Norman H. 284
Whitney, Henry M. 152
Williams, George Fred 6
Wilson, Woodrow, President 360
Winslow, Samuel E. 332
Wolcott, Roger, Gov. 72

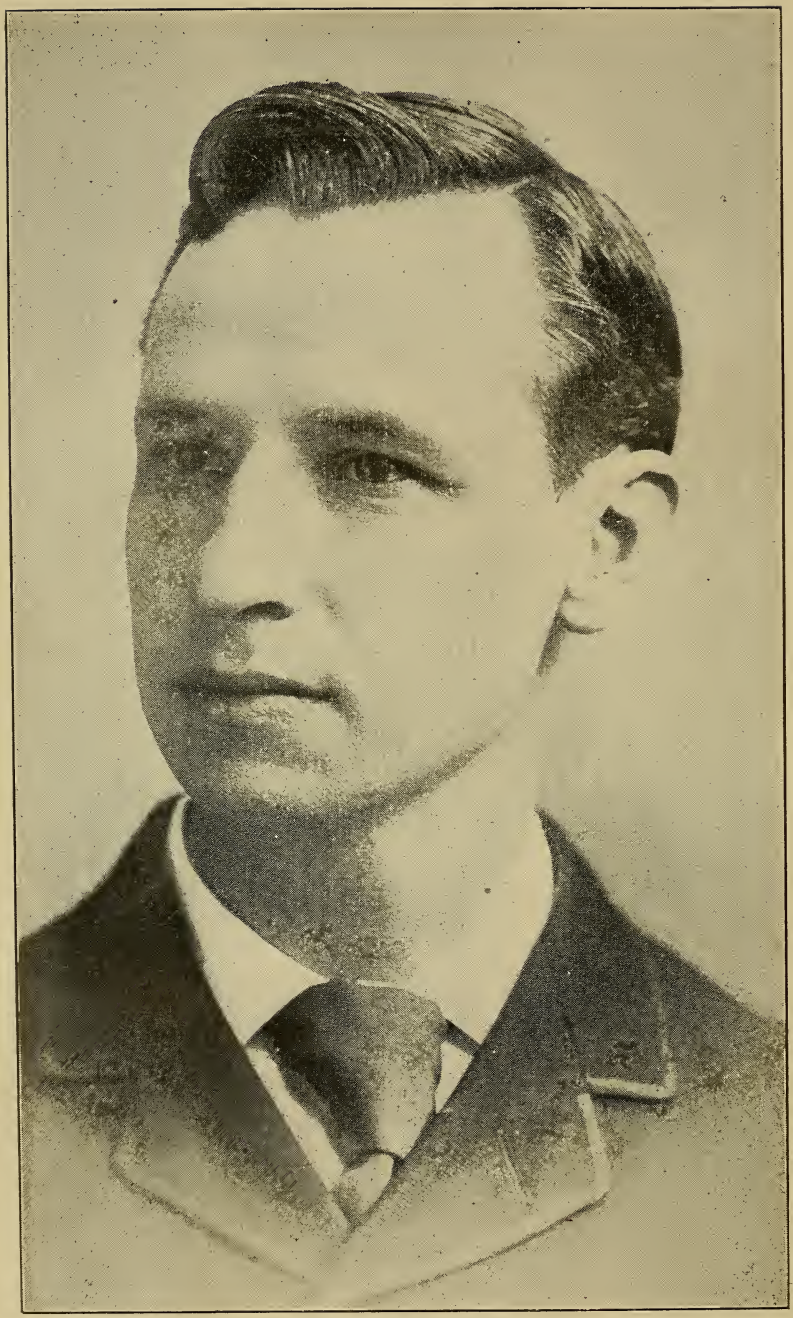
ERRATA

Page 30, 11th line should read: John W. Corcoran instead of John W. Cockran.

Page 50, line under cut of Pinkerton should read Alfred S. Pinkerton.

Page 86, 5th line should read 47 instead of 37 years old.

Page 269, 15th line should read United Shoe Machinery Co instead of United States Machinery Co.



Governor Russell

Mrs M. S. Hennessy, With kind regards of W. J. Russell
Jan. 31/93

CHAPTER I.

CAMPAIGN OF 1890 — DEFEAT OF GOVERNOR BRACKETT — ELECTION OF WILLIAM E. RUSSELL, GOVERNOR.

THE State campaign of 1890 was one of the most spirited since the Butler contests a few years before, but unlike the Butler political fights it was free from personalities. It was fought on National and State issues—tariff reform and local questions then agitating the public mind.

The Prohibitionists, chafing under the procrastinating policy of the Republicans relating to temperance legislation and encouraged by a vote of 15,000 for the head of their State ticket the year before, started the political ball rolling by holding their State convention at Worcester, September 10th, nominating William Blackmer, of Springfield, for Governor. In Boston, September 17th, the Republicans met in convention, reaffirmed their "fidelity to the principles of temperance," pledged their support to legislation to "suppress the dram shop and the saloon" and condemned "the evils of the blighting curse of drink." Gov. Brackett was renominated.

The following day, at Worcester, the Democratic State convention assembled, renominated William E. Russell, of Cambridge, for Governor, declared for an eight-hour day for State and municipal employees engaged in manual labor, demanded the lessening of the hours of work of women and children in mercantile and industrial establishments, advocated the broadening of education in general and especially demanded vocational training for children. Home rule for cities and the condemnation of the State's interference with Boston's city government were among the local issues raised.

The gubernatorial contest resulted in the election of Russell, by a plurality of 9000, the vote being: Russell, 140,557; Brackett, 131,454; Blackmer, 13,554.

William D. T. Trefry, of Marblehead, Democratic candidate for Auditor, was elected by a plurality of about 8000 over

Charles R. Ladd, Republican, of Springfield. The Democrats increased their representation in both branches of the Legislature, electing 20 of the 40 senators and 98 members of the House of Representatives.

Two amendments to the Constitution were voted on at the election—one to prevent the disfranchisement of voters by reason of change of residence within the Commonwealth and the other relative to the exercise of the franchise by soldiers and sailors. Both were adopted by large majorities, the former by a vote of 97,177 to 44,686 and the other by a vote of 100,109 to 27,621.

In the congressional elections that year, the Democrats carried seven of the 12 congressional districts of the State, electing their candidates in the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th, 11th and 12th districts. Up to that time only one district in the State was regarded safely Democratic—the 4th, made up of Democratic wards in Boston and represented by Joseph H. O'Neil. The third district was also represented by a Democrat, John F. Andrew, who two years before had beaten an Old Guard Republican, Alanson W. Beard, ex-collector of the port and a prominent politician. This district consisted almost wholly of Boston Republican wards and the town of Milton.

The Democrats were elated over the results of the election and they had a right to be. They had not elected a Governor since Butler in 1883 and for the first time since the Republican party came into power, they had succeeded in smashing the Republican State slate below the head of the ticket, in the election of their candidate for State Auditor. Never before had they elected so many congressmen.

The result of the Massachusetts election in 1890 attracted nation-wide attention. A high place at the party council table was reserved for their successful candidate for Governor. He was hailed and welcomed by the leaders of his party as a promising young man in the politics of the country. It was Russell's third campaign for the governorship. He had been mayor of his native city of Cambridge, as his father had. He had administered the duties of the office of chief executive of the University City in a manner that won praise from men of all political parties. He possessed many attractive personal qualities—youth, oratory of the convincing kind, high character, lofty ideals in public affairs and a democratic manner of meeting and mingling with his fellow citizens that made him

one of the most popular public figures in the State. He was not only the idol of his own political party, but he had many admirers and supporters in the opposition party.

Until "Billy" Russell, as his personal friends affectionately called him, assumed the leadership of the Massachusetts Democracy, the party had been drifting backwards. Some of its leaders were disappointed with the way in which Grover Cleveland had distributed the Federal loaves and fishes. Others professed not to be pleased with Mr. Cleveland's free trade tendencies. William E. Russell's Democracy was inherited. He came from a distinguished Democratic family. He was a Democrat also by conviction.

He thoroughly believed in the principles of his party and he was ready to fight for them. He was an enthusiastic Cleveland man. After his first nomination for Governor, in 1888, he went all over the State, preaching the Democratic gospel. In all, he made 50 speeches and breathed new life into his party. His Republican opponent that year was Governor Oliver Ames. The Republicans were successful, being a presidential year, the reserve vote coming out. Russell repeated his stumping feat the following year and reduced the Republican lead to the danger point, encouraging the Democrats who entered the next campaign with great enthusiasm.

This year, the Republicans, following their party custom nominated Lieutenant Governor John Q. A. Brackett for Governor, Governor Ames having had the customary three terms. Mr. Brackett was elected. He was one of the most popular and militant of the younger Republicans of the State. He and his friends had opposed the Old Guard of the party and he had more than once walked into public office over their prostrate forms. He was not a rich man. He came from the ranks of the party. He was what they call now-a-days a Progressive, had been a member of the Common Council of Boston—then, the training field for young politicians. He had been a member of the Legislature and had served as Speaker of the House. He had graduated from Harvard with high honors and was his class orator.

In his inaugural address to the Legislature, Gov. Brackett recommended, among other things, a law for the abolition of grade crossings and another exempting the capital stock of Co-operative banks from taxation, both of which were enacted at the session of 1890. He also recommended a law conferring

upon the Superior Court jurisdiction in capital cases, and another taxing inheritances, both of which were enacted by subsequent Legislatures.

The liquor question played an important part in the gubernatorial campaign of 1890. For some time the Prohibitionists had been demanding a prohibitory amendment to the Constitution. The Republican leaders felt that it would not do to put them off longer and in 1889 the amendment was passed by the Legislature. A special election was ordered April 22, when the question was voted on. The day was made a holiday. Gov. Ames signed the act March 21. The special election was set a whole month ahead in order to give both sides a chance to discuss the issue. The Drys and the Wets worked hard When the ballots were counted the amendment was defeated by a two to one vote, the poll being 43,820 for and 85,242 against.

The Prohibitionists were angry. They felt that they had been tricked by those who professed to be their friends in the cause of total abstinence. With an idea of proving to the temperance people his sincerity in their cause Gov. Brackett took the matter up in his inaugural. He discussed the temperance issue and it proved more than any other his undoing. It was one of those cases where "The evil that men do lives after them. The good is oft interred with their bones," as Shakespeare says.

"Every license to sell liquor to be drunk on the premises is subject to the condition that the licensee shall not keep a public bar." said the Governor in his address to the Legislature, quoting the license law of the State, "and shall hold a license as an innholder or common victualler; and this latter he is not entitled to hold unless actually carrying on the business specified. The meaning of the law clearly is that, while liquor may be sold by a licensed dealer, like other merchandise, to be carried away, it shall not be sold to be drunk on the premises except in hotels and restaurants. The obvious intent is to do away with the dram shop and the public bar, and only to allow the licensed proprietors of hotels and restaurants, as incidental to their principal business as such, to furnish liquor to their bona fide guests.

"If, therefore, the present law, prohibitory as it is in over 82 per cent of our towns and cities, and thus restrictive in all the others, is thoroughly enforced, as it should be, it will confine liquor selling in Massachusetts within comparatively narrow limits. If further laws are needed to prevent evasions of its letter and spirit, and more effectually to carry out its intent, I trust that you will enact them."

The Police Commissioners of Boston, a State board, ap-

pointed by the Governor, enforced Mr. Brackett's suggestion and not an open bar was permitted in the capital city of the State. Every bar was ordered screened and patrons were obliged to sit at a table before they were served with liquor. In order to live up to the Brackett interpretation of the law, free lunches were set before customers. The new order of things aroused indignation among those who frequented public bars. Most people preferred the perpendicular drinking and they voted against the Governor as a protest against his interpretation of the law.

During the session of the Legislature Gov. Brackett vetoed the bill entitled "An Act to authorize the consolidation of gas and electric light companies." J. Edward Addicks of Delaware, then at the height of his power as a manipulator of gas stocks, had secured the passage of this bill. The Governor vetoed it on the ground that it would allow unlimited stock watering and thereby impose new and unjust burdens upon the people. In his message returning the bill with his objections to the Senate, in which it originated, he closed by referring to the injustice done to the gas consumers of New York city under a similar act of the Legislature of that State.

That the McKinley tariff, which went into effect 30 days before the State election, also had much to do with the defeat of Governor Brackett, is demonstrated by the results in the congressional elections that year. The McKinley tariff had raised the duties on many necessaries of life. Tariff reform was at the height of its popularity as a political issue. The Democrats made the most of their opportunities and fanned the flame of public protest.

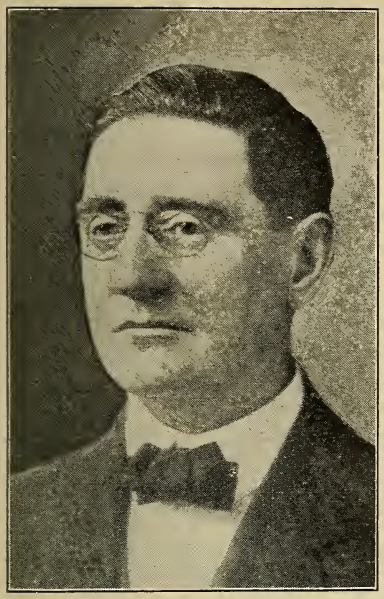
Then, too, the Democrats had gathered together a brilliant array of young campaigners who could talk well and fight hard. They demonstrated that they knew something about political strategy. They had organized the Young Men's Democratic Club, officered by able, energetic, ambitious men as an adjunct to the Democratic State Committee. Nathan Matthews Jr., then 35 years old, was chairman of the executive committee of the State Committee and Josiah Quincy was its secretary. They made an effective campaign team, working early and late, and putting more life into the State Committee than that body had experienced in years. There were, it is true, Democratic factional fights in Boston, where the two prominent machine leaders, Patrick Maguire and Michael M.

Cunniff had split the party in two in a personal quarrel, but they and their followers were loyal to Russell. The old saying, "The more fights the more cats", was true that year in Boston, for Gov. Russell received a plurality of 13,348 votes. Matthews was nominated and elected by the Democrats mayor of Boston after the State campaign, defeating Mayor Hart, the Republican nominee.

Several of the bright lights in the Republican party of that period had gone over to the Democracy in the Blaine-Cleveland presidential campaign in 1884. They were bitterly opposed to Blaine for President and were known as Mugwumps. Some of them, like Sherman Hoar, nephew of Senator Hoar, John F. Andrew, son of the famous war Governor, and Josiah Quincy, of the historic Quincy family, were among them. George Fred Williams, of Dedham, was another one of the anti-Blaine Republicans who went over to the Democracy. Williams, Andrew and Hoar were elected to Congress this year, the former over John W. Candler of Brookline, by a slim margin. Dr. William Everett, whom Harvard students used to call "Piggy" Everett, was a Mugwump of Mugwumps. The Doctor hailed from Quincy, but the Democrats of the Lynn district nominated him against Henry Cabot Lodge in 1890. He made a picturesque campaign, but Mr. Lodge was successful by 1000 votes. The Democrats made Mr. Lodge their special target because of his "Force Bill" which he had introduced in Congress for an honest Federal control of national elections.

John F. Andrew defeated Edward L. Pierce, brother of Henry L. Pierce, the latter a former Republican whose defection dated from the Hayes-Tilden presidential campaign and his failure to receive, his critics claim, the Republican gubernatorial nomination. Henry L. Pierce was one of Boston's public spirited citizens and was twice mayor of the city. His liberal contributions to the Democratic campaign chest in the Russell years made him welcome at all party gatherings of the Democracy. His brother Edward was the biographer of Charles Sumner, but the magic name of Andrew, coupled with the pleasing personality of the Democratic congressional candidate, proved too much to overcome in a tidal wave year which engulfed the Republicans.

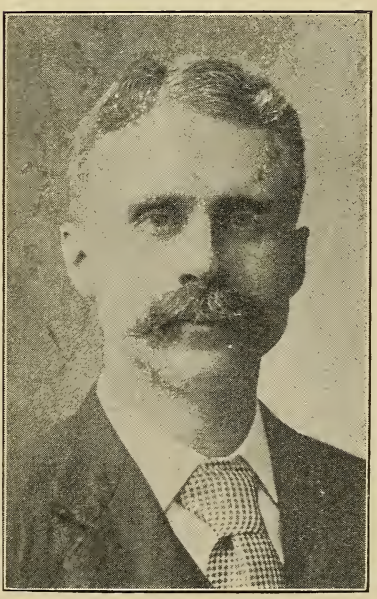
Sherman Hoar, who lived in Waltham then, defeated James A. Fox, of Cambridge, by more than 3500 votes. Fox



Joseph H. O'Neil.

William D. T. Trefry.

George Fred Williams



Josiah Quincy.

was not attractive to the independent voter and in the contest he showed a lack of knowledge of the issues of the campaign. Hoar, on the contrary, was popular with all classes. His family and college connections were a great asset to him. He was a pleasing public speaker and the family trait of independence which he typified won him many votes.

By a slim margin, Moses T. Stevens, of North Andover, a Democrat of the old school, defeated for reelection his Republican opponent, Frederick T. Greenhalge, of Lowell, congressman from the eighth district. The defeat of Greenhalge only served to open to him a wider sphere of public and party usefulness. He was elected the successor of Russell in the gubernatorial chair, three years later, after another Lowell man, Charles H. Allen, had tried unsuccessfully to do it.

In the other two congressional districts, the 11th and 12th, two Democrats were elected—Frederick S. Coolidge, of Ashburnham in the former and John C. Crosby in the latter. Mr. Crosby was defeated in the next election, but he continued in politics for many years. He was the candidate for second place on the state ticket with William L. Douglas, when the latter was chosen Governor in 1904. Gov. Douglas appointed him a judge of the Superior Court and Gov. Foss named him a justice of the Supreme Judicial Court. Congressman Francis W. Rockwell of Pittsfield was his opponent in 1890. Timothy G. Spaulding of Northampton was Mr. Coolidge's Republican opponent. Mr. Coolidge suffered the same fate as Mr. Crosby at the following election.

In addition to Henry Cabot Lodge, the Republicans elected to congress that year Congressman Charles S. Randall, of New Bedford, in the first district, Congressman Elijah A. Morse of Canton in the second district, and Congressman William Cogswell of Salem in the seventh. Congressman Randall's Democratic opponent was Col. Charles R. Codman, another prominent Mugwump who continued to act with the Democrats. Bushrod Morse of Sharon was Elijah Morse's Democratic opponent.

Joseph Walker of Worcester, who was one of the leading Mugwumps of the country in 1884, but who had returned to the party of his first love and had been elected to Congress, was reelected, but his plurality was considerably reduced by his Democratic opponent, Charles B. Pratt, a rich Democrat from the same city. Mr. Walker was an impulsive man. He

could and did say many sharp things about his political opponents, remarking on the result of the election of 1890, that it had been brought about by a "combination of Harvard College and the slums of Boston." Mr. Walker was the father of Joseph Walker, the unsuccessful Republican gubernatorial standard bearer in 1913 and the Progressive candidate for Governor in 1914.

The Republican candidate for Lieutenant Governor, in 1890, William H. Haile, of Springfield, was reelected over John W. Corcoran, of Clinton, the Democratic candidate, who, by the way, was a cousin of David I. Walsh, Democratic Governor 1914 and '15. The vote for second place that year was Haile, 137,160, Corcoran, 130,030. John W. Corcoran, Russell's running mate in all but one of his campaigns for Governor, was an able, popular young lawyer who hailed from Clinton, Worcester County. He was an attractive campaigner, a man of probity and honorable in his dealings with his fellow men. Gov. Russell appointed him a judge of the Superior Court, but he remained on the bench only a short time, resigning to reenter the practice of his profession. The salary of a judge of the Superior Court at that time was only $5500 a year and Judge Corcoran felt that this salary was not adequate for the support of his family. His resignation was regretted by Democrats all over the State, particularly by the Catholic population, as he was the only one of their religion on the bench of the higher courts.

Political troubles never come singly. Besides their other troubles this year, the Republicans had a spirited contest for Auditor on their State ticket. The incumbent of that office, Charles R. Ladd, of Springfield, had held the office for 11 years and Republican politicians had begun to ask if he had a mortgage on the place. Major J. Henry Gould, of Medfield, led the opposition to the renomination of Auditor Ladd. Major Gould was prominent and popular in Grand Army circles and defeated Ladd for a renomination, but the Major's victory was short lived. His opponents charged him with being a corrupt carpet bagger in the South, where it was alleged he was mixed up in some questionable financial transactions while a government official after the Civil War. His opponents threatened to expose him and laid their charges before the Republican State leaders. There was a hurried night session of the officers of the State Committee and some of the

Republican campaign managers. Major Gould was forced off the State ticket. It was claimed at the time that somebody in authority promised to take care of the Major if he would retire, but the promise, if made, was never kept. Later the Major was able to disprove the charges made against him, but he was off the State ticket and he and his friends declined to support Ladd. When the vote was counted it was found that the Democratic nominee, William D. T. Trefry, of Marblehead, was elected. Mr. Trefry was defeated the next year for reelection by Gen. John W. Kimball, of Fitchburg, but he was continued in the service of the State, receiving an appointment from Gov. Russell, and he has been retained in office by every succeeding Governor and is now Tax Commissioner of the Commonwealth.

Gov. Brackett accepted the verdict of the voters gracefully, cordially congratulated his successor and extended him the courtesies usually proffered the outgoing chief executive of the State to the incoming Governor. That John Q. A. Brackett was a good Governor cannot be denied. He was free from entangling corporation alliances—freer, perhaps, than most of his Republican predecessors in years. He was a man of the people, moved among them freely, sympathized with their aims and needs and was one of the most Democratic of men. A man of broad sympathies and a kindly nature, he gave much attention to the problems of State affecting the welfare of those less fortunate than himself.

He had no personal regrets in leaving the office of Governor and on his departure from the State House carried with him the respect not only of his friends and supporters, but of those who opposed him politically.

CHAPTER II.

RUSSELL'S FIRST TERM AS GOVERNOR AND HIS RE-ELECTION—REPEAL OF POLL TAX LAW—LICENSE LAW AMENDED—CHARLES H. ALLEN, OF LOWELL, RUSSELL'S REPUBLICAN OPPONENT IN CAMPAIGN OF 1891.

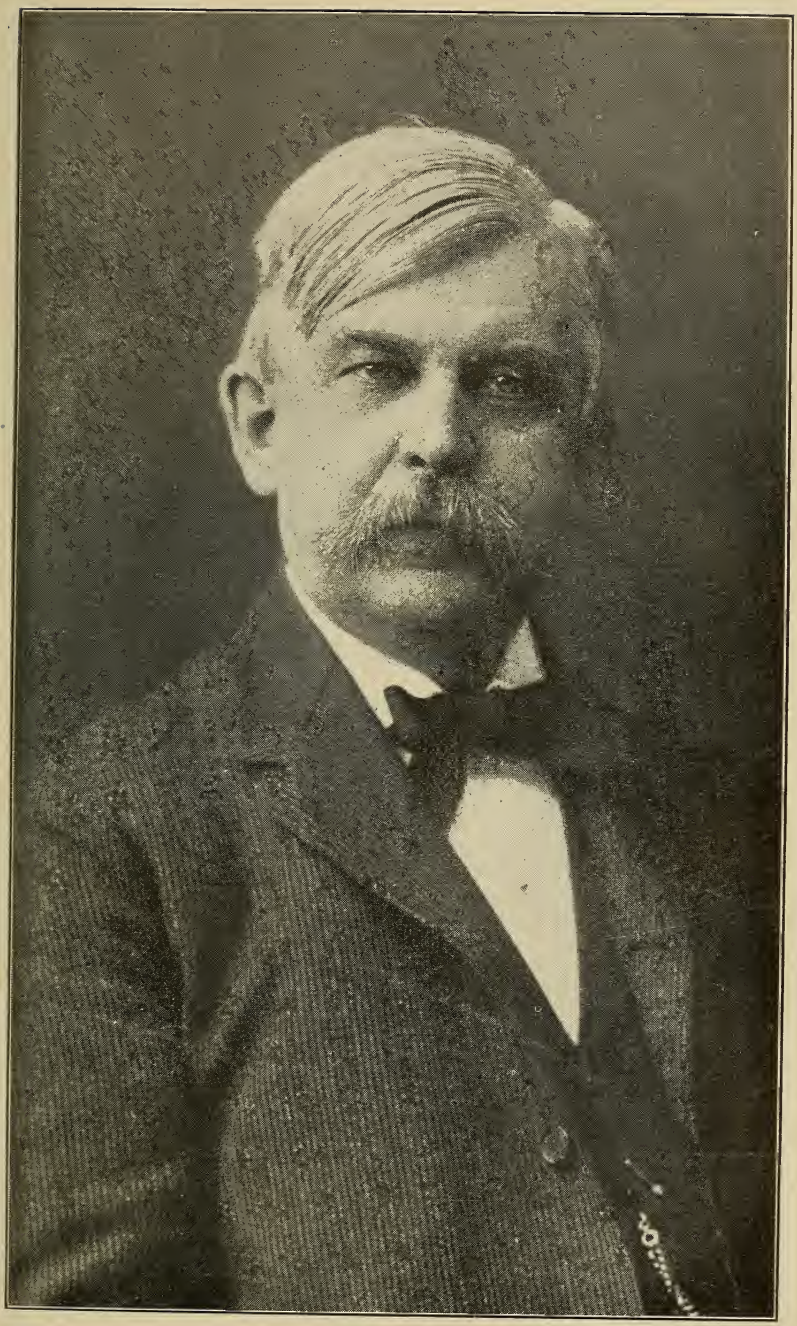
WILLIAM E. Russell was inaugurated Governor Jan. 8, 1891—Jackson Day, in the Democratic political calendar—the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, when "Old Hickory" routed the British forces under Packenham. There was a great outpouring of the faithful and a distinguished gathering of public men of all political parties assembled to hear the new and youthful Chief Executive deliver his first inaugural address to the members of the Legislature.

With the exception of George S. Boutwell, Russell was the youngest man ever inaugurated Governor. Boutwell, like Russell, was a Democrat when he was sworn in 40 years before. Gov. Russell's party followers celebrated the dual event with a banquet in the evening and speeches by distinguished Democrats.

The Legislature had met the day before and organized with Henry B. Sprague, of Boston, President of the Senate and William E. Barrett, of Melrose, Speaker of the House. There was a disposition on the part of some of the Democratic Senators to make trouble over the organization of the Senate, but wiser counsels prevailed and Mr. Sprague divided the Senate committee chairmanships as evenly as possible.

In his inaugural, Gov. Russell devoted much space to a discussion of the restriction upon the suffrage, pointing out that Massachusetts almost alone required the payment of a tax as a qualification for voting, and said that the tax qualification "either disfranchises many thousands of men or tends to subject their votes to the control of another's will."

"It leads," he added, "to the debasement of our politics, to the collection and expenditure of large sums of money at elections; it tends to make wealth a necessary qualification for candidates, because poverty is a disqualification for voters. In important exciting



Governor Brackett.

contests it is of no effect except to degrade the voter, to burden the candidates, and to suggest and encourage corruption.

"Upon such grounds the Constitutional Convention of 1853 voted more than three to one against it. Democrats, Whigs, and the founders of the Republican party, stood side by side demanding its abolition, amongst them such distinguished jurists and statesmen as Marcus Morton, Charles Sumner, Joel Parker, Henry Wilson, Charles Allen, Francis W. Bird Otis P. Lord, Richard H. Dana Jr., George S. Boutwell, Amasa Walker, Anson Burlingame, Nathaniel P. Banks, Robert Rantoul and William Schouler."

In conclusion, Gov. Russell declared:

"There is now the same demand just as strong and non-partisan. Recognizing it, your predecessors of last year, by a large majority, adopted a resolution to amend the Constitution by annulling so much of it as requires the payment of a tax as a qualification for voting. This resolution now comes up for your consideration. I strongly recommend immediate and favorable action upon it, and its submission to the people, as required by the Constitution, at an early day,—to the end that the suffrage may as soon as possible be made broader, safer and purer, by removing the injustice, danger and evil that now surround it."

Both parties were glad enough to repeal the provision, as the law worked a great hardship on candidates for political office. It was a drain on the treasury of political parties and candidates for public office, especially in the large cities where many voters neglected to pay their poll tax, depending on their party candidates or political leader to do it for them. Hence, it often happened that a rich man had an advantage over a poor man, who could not afford to pay the necessary assessment for the payment of poll taxes. In some districts it used to be said that candidates were expected to spend at least from $10,000 to $15,000 for this purpose alone.

The corrupting influence and activities of the lobby were discussed by the Governor. "Criticisms of the Third House," he declared, "are not based upon rumor or conjecture, but upon facts reported after a most thorough investigation by your predecesors". Referring to the recent legislative investigation of the work of the lobby in connection with the passage of the West End Street Railway bill, permitting the consolidation of all the street railways in the City of Boston and some of the surrounding cities and towns, brought on by charges made by Representative George Fred Williams of Dedham, who alleged that corrupt means had been employed to procure the passage of the bill, Gov. Russell quoted from the report of the investigating committee this paragraph:

" 'It is a fact beyond denial that a body of professional lobbyists has for years formed part of the machinery of legislation, . . . and has been growing in number and influence.' "

"The evils of the lobby have become so flagrant and disgraceful," he added, "that for the purity of legislation, the protection of our Commonwealth, they demand your serious consideration, and some stringent and radical remedy," and he recommended amending the lobby act, compelling sworn statements of expenses incurred by interested persons before a measure became a law.

Referring to railroad passes he observed:

"The pay now allowed to a member of the Legislature for his services makes it unjust to put upon him any further expense. I believe the giving of such passes ought either to be forbidden or compelled by law, and that any expense involved should be borne by the State. This may be done by a fair and proper mileage system, which seems, however, to require an amendment to the Constitution, mileage being by it limited to 'travelling to the General Assembly and returning home once in every session, and no more.' Or you may deem it wise for the State to purchase and give such passes; or if within its power, to require the railroad corporations to give them. They could hardly object to a law which should compel them to do only what they now do voluntarily."

Under the heading of "Liquor Legislation" Gov. Russell said:

"I call to your attention the well known variety of opinion as to the meaning of the statute provision which forbids the keeping of a public bar, and the utter lack of agreement in its construction and enforcement. It is inconsistent with sound public policy that a provision of law which is the same for the whole Commonwealth should be open to these objections. In my judgment, this provision as construed and enforced in the city of Boston, does not tend to promote temperance, is not sustained by public opinion, and ought to be corrected."

In urging a corrupt practices act, calling for the publication of campaign expenses, he said:

"The people have a right to know the amount of such expenses, for what and to whom incurred, and to limit their amount and define their proper objects. Expenditures which cannot bear the light of day ought not to be made."

After Russell's election as Governor, it was discovered that the State Constitution required that the Governor of Massachusetts must be possessed of a freehold of at least $5000 and it was currently reported at the time that the Governor-elect and his friends were obliged to use their wits in order to comply with this archaic provision of the Constitution.

He called attention to this provision of the Constitution in his address to the Legislature and urged its repeal. Very few of his auditors on the occasion were aware of the law and the Legislature very properly and promptly proceeded to strike it from the Constitution.

The Legislature having organized, the Governor having been sworn in and his inaugural address having been delivered, the executive and legislative branches of the State government settled down to business. Gov. Russell appointed as his secretary, Col. Jeremiah W. Coveney, of Cambridge, a well known Democratic politician, who had a good war record as a soldier and officer in the old 28th Massachusetts Regiment, a part of the Irish Brigade of the Union Army in the Civil War. Col. Coveney had been Surveyor of the Port in the first Cleveland administration and took a prominent part in Gov. Russell's last campaign. Gov. Russell named a military staff embracing all elements of his party.

The length of the legislative session of 1891 was 156 days. It was prorogued at 12.50 A. M. June 11, after having passed 481 acts and 118 resolves, which had become law. It redistricted the State into 13 congressional districts, an extra congressman being assigned the State by the congressional reapportionment under the last census. Among the important laws passed by the Legislature of 1891 were the oleomargarine and imitation butter bills for the protection of the dairy interests of the State. It abolished the Gypsy Moth Commission which had fallen into disrepute and turned the work of extermination of the pest over to the State Board of Agriculture.

The clause in the license law forbidding the sale of liquor over a public bar was stricken out and a provision was introduced prohibiting the sale of liquor at tables in any room where liquor selling was the exclusive or principal business.

A new drunk law, permitting arresting officers to discharge without court proceedings first offenders was passed. The weavers fine bill was enacted, but was subsequently declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Judicial Court of the State. Another act passed that year permitted cities and towns to engage in the manufacture and sale of gas and electricity. A collateral inheritance law was enacted putting a tax of 5% on inheritances when the estate was valued at more than $10,000.

The first sweat shop bill was passed by the General Court this year, prohibiting the sale of clothing and garments made outside the State in tenements and unsanitary shops. A rapid transit bill was passed for Boston authorizing the investigation of the subject and ordering the commission to report its findings to the next Legislature.

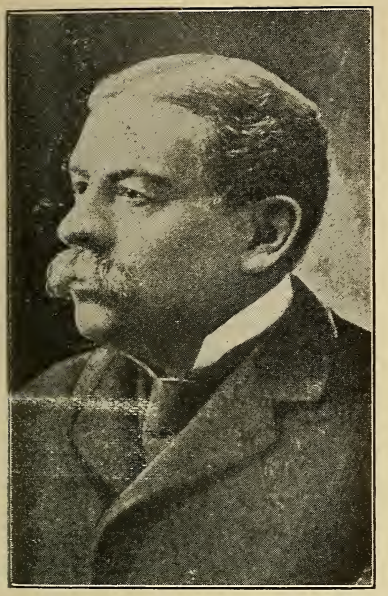
Restrictive legislation was proposed affecting fraternal and beneficiary organizations which had sprung up like mushrooms all over the land. The public had gone mad over this form of insurance. Many sharpers reaped a harvest in the formation and manipulation of these societies at the expense of a credulous public. There was a general demand that the State impose strict regulation on these organizations through its insurance department, but those who had made money out of the business employed very able counsel and successfully fought off action by this Legislature, which referred the subject to the next General Court.

An initiatory appropriation of $75,000 was made for the Massachusetts exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition to be held in Chicago, the following year commemorating the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus.

John W. Corcoran, the Governor's loyal and devoted friend and political associate, was made chairman of the commission by His Excellency. Gen. Corcoran discharged his duty with that fidelity and ability, characteristic of him in all public matters. The Massachusetts building at the Fair was a reproduction of John Hancock's house—a compliment to the first Governor of the Commonwealth under the Constitution.

Two constitutional amendments were passed by the Legislature and submitted to the people at the November election for their approval—one favoring the abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting and another constituting a majority for a quorum of either branch of the Legislature. Both were adopted by big majorities, the first receiving a vote of 144,931 for and 53,554 against, and the other Yes, 152,688, No, 29,590. Amendments providing for biennial elections and abolishing the property qualifications for the Governor were also passed by the Legislature.

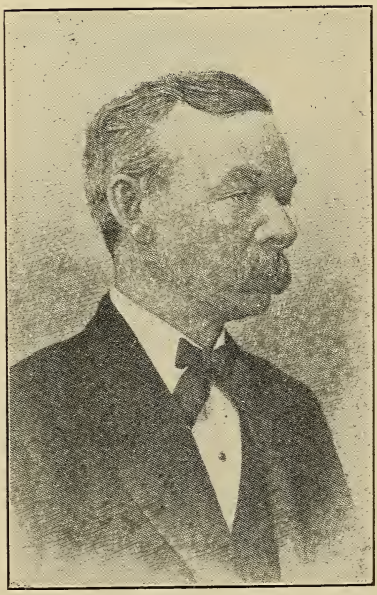
The proroguing of the Legislature early in June gave the politicians a short breathing spell, but they were not idle. The Republican State committee and organization Republicans generally, smarting under the defeat of the Fall before, busied



Richard Olney.

Gen. John W. Corcoran

Frederick S. Coolidge.



Gen. Patrick A. Collins.

themselves in preparing for the coming campaign. Patching up personal differences, repairing their "fences" and putting their house in order for the next campaign, occupied most of their time. They were very anxious to present a united front to the enemy in the coming State election.

If imitation is the sincerest flattery, then the Republicans flattered the Democrats in at least one respect. They had observed the good work the Young Men's Democratic Club had done in recent campaigns and they resolved to have a similar organization in the Republican party. They called it the Republican Club of Massachusetts and it has continued ever since, doing good work, cooperating with the Republican state committee. Roger Wolcott, of Boston, was chosen President, Elihu B. Hayes of Lynn, Secretary, and Arthur L. Devens, Boston, Treasurer. The late Gov. Guild was made chairman of the membership committee. Mr. Guild had not held any public elective office up to that time and few of his associates dreamed that he would before many years be Governor, an ambassador and a soldier in a foreign war, winning high place among the noted public men of the country. Mr. Wolcott had been a member of the Legislature and had just begun to be considered by the political manipulators as a good man to have up their sleeve in case of an emergency. Mr. Hayes had been a member of the Legislature, and was one of the most active and practical politicians in Essex county. Mr. Devens was a banker. He has held the office of treasurer continuously ever since.

At first the Old Guard Republicans resented the meddling of the new Republican political organization, whose members felt that others besides the bosses were entitled to something to say in making political slates. After awhile the misunderstandings were amicably settled and the club took an important part in the campaign, devoting itself to such work assigned it by the chairman of the State committee and the candidates on the State ticket.

While the Republicans were planning and building to "redeem" the governorship, several candidates appeared to plague them. There was some talk of a vindication for Gov. Brackett, but he declined to enter the contest. Mr. Lodge who was, perhaps, the most unpopular Republican with the Democrats was suggested but he preferred Congress. Ex-Congressman Greenhalge, Gen. William F. Draper and William

Whiting were among those suggested. Two booms were under way by early summer, one for ex-Congressman William W. Crapo of New Bedford and the other for ex-Congressman Charles H. Allen of Lowell. Allen, the younger of the two, made the most aggressive campaign for the nomination. The Boston end of the campaign was looked after by Albert C. Burrage, then a young struggling lawyer, who later amassed a fortune in the stock market. He was assisted by Edwin U. Curtis and William Power Wilson. Mr. Burrage went into city politics, became a member of the Common Council and was the author of the old "Burrage ordinance" aimed at the Democrats, which prohibited city employees from going as delegates to political conventions. Mr. Allen had the support of Mr. Whiting, Curtis Guild Jr., Frederick T. Greenhalge, George von L. Meyer, Collector Beard, Jesse M. Gove, Mr. Lodge and Col. Fairchild, of Lee, Higginson & Co., an active and important personage for many years in Republican politics in Massachusetts.

Mr. Crapo had the support of the older and more conservative members of the party, including ex-Gov. Long, Gen. Draper, Everett W. Burdett, David Hall Rice, John Hopewell Jr., ex-Congressman Bowman, Col Albert Clarke, and a sprinkling of the middle aged politicians like Willard Howland, of Chelsea and Howes Norris, of the Cape.

Mr. Crapo had figured as a candidate for Governor in two other State conventions, but he was doomed to defeat again. He had old fashioned notions about politics, believing that the office should seek the man, and he declined to get into a rough and tumble fight with his younger antagonist for the honor. Allen was nominated on the first ballot.

The Peoples Party fired the first gun in the campaign of this year holding their convention or rather mass meeting in Boston, nominating Maj Henry Winn of Malden for Governor. Maj Winn was well known to the members of the Legislature where for years he had appeared in behalf of many political reforms, notably on taxation questions. He was a disciple of Henry George and an advocate of the latter's single tax ideas. The platform of this party contained many of the tenets of the Farmers Alliance whose greatest strength was among the Western farmers of the country and also embodied

some of the ideas of the Nationalist Party. At the election the ticket polled but a handful of votes—1772.

The Prohibitionists followed on Sept. 9, nominating Charles E. Kimball, of Lynn, who received 8908 votes in November. The Socialist Labor party appeared for the first time this year, naming Harry W. Robinson, of Lynn, as its candidate for Governor, polling 1429 votes election day.

The Republicans met in Boston Sept. 16th. Henry Cabot Lodge was the presiding officer. He made a ringing speech in which he outlined the work of the Republican administration and Congress. The platform was written by ex-Congressman Greenhalge of Lowell.

It approved the National Administration, denied the Democratic charges of extravagance by Congress in enacting new pension laws, favored the further restriction of emigration, declared for the purity of elections (The Lodge Force Bill so called by the Democrats) came out strongly for sound money, roundly condemning the Democrats for their leanings toward free silver, affirming its unswerving fidelity to the protective system, favored the further restriction of and suppression of the evils arising from the sale of intoxicating liquors and contained a labor and educational clause calculated to please those interested in such questions.

There was only one ballot for the nominee for Governor resulting in the nomination of Charles H. Allen, of Lowell, and was as follows:

Allen, 713; Crapo, 514; Greenhalge, 3; Lodge, 1.

Lieut Gov Haile was renominated without a contest.

The Democrats had a fondness for Worcester as a convention city and there on Sept. 29, renominated Russell and Corcoran for Governor and Lieutenant Governor respectively.

Their platform condemned the Republican attitude towards State boards and commissions, claiming that they were beyond the control of the Governor and responsible to nobody. It declared for free text books for public schools and reaffirmed its former position demanding an efficient system of manual training and the increase of the school age.

It demanded the repeal of the McKinley tariff bill, denounced the recent silver legislation by Congress and opposed the free coinage of silver in the absence of any international agreement.

The State campaign that year was spirited. The Repub-

licans felt that in Mr. Allen they had a man who could match the eloquent and popular Russell, but in this they were mistaken. Mr. Allen opened his campaign with a big meeting in Boston at which he made the mistake of telling a dialect story regarding a Mr. Casey who sucked his torch, likening Casey to the Democratic party. In introducing him that same evening ex-Gov Long, the presiding officer, who had served in Congress with Mr. Allen and was very fond of him, remarked that the Republicans were not in the habit of putting all their big apples on the top of the barrel. The Democrats seized this playful remark of Mr. Long and fastened the title of "Little Apples" on the Republican candidate.

Mr. Allen was unable to stand the strain of a hard campaign. His throat gave out and he was obliged to cancel several important speaking engagements. There was a joint debate in Boston between Henry Cabot Lodge and John E. Russell on the issues of the campaign. Two better speakers would be hard to find. Mr. Lodge was the idol of the younger and militant element in his party and John E. Russell, "the Gentle Shepherd of Leicester," as he was affectionately known by his friends—a title by the way, conferred on him by William McKinley of Ohio, a member of Congress when John E. Russell represented the Worcester district at Washington and was debating the wool schedule in the tariff bill. Mr. Russell ran as a free trader and was elected to Congress in 1886. He was a man of means and lived the life of a gentleman farmer on the famed hills of Worcester county. As an orator he had few equals in the State and he presented the case of his namesake, Gov Russell, to the satisfaction of every Democrat present. Mr. Lodge did the same for Mr. Allen. The debate was the talk of political circles before and after it took place. Probably very few votes were changed by the oratorical battle of the two political giants, but it added zest and gaiety to the campaign and gave both sides a chance to present their side to the voters through two able political debaters.

The vote for Governor was: Russell, 157,982; Allen, 151,515; Kimball, 8908; Winn. 1772; Robinson, 1429.

The political complexion of the Legislature elected that year was: Senate, 24 Rep., 16 Dem.; House, 149 Rep., 90 Dem., 1 Prohib.

CHAPTER III.

RUSSELL'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION—PROMINENT MEN IN LEGISLATURE—RUSSELL BOOMED FOR PRESIDENT—FIRST APPEARANCE IN MASSACHUSETTS POLITICS OF W. MURRAY CRANE—RUSSELL DEFEATS HAILE FOR GOVERNOR—WOLCOTT BEATS CARROLL FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR—REPUBLICANS ELECT TEN OF THIRTEEN CONGRESSMEN.

POLITICAL prophets who predicted that Gov Russell would be a yearling were all at sea when the election returns showed that he had defeated his Republican opponent, ex-Congressman Charles H. Allen, of Lowell. Not in the memory of his contemporaries had a Democratic Governor succeeded himself on Beacon Hill. Gaston and Butler, his two Democratic predecessors in office, were unable to secure a reelection. Gov Russell received 17,000 more votes in his candidacy for reelection than he did the year before, when he was elected over Brackett and Mr. Allen, his Republican opponent, got 20,000 more votes than Gov Brackett. The Governor was the only Democratic candidate on the State ticket elected.

The Legislature met Jan. 6. Alfred S. Pinkerton of Worcester was chosen president of the Senate and William E. Barrett was again reelected Speaker of the House. Gov Russell began his second term profoundly grateful to the people of the Commonwealth for the renewed confidence which had again entrusted him with important public duties as he expressed it in his inaugural address to the Legislature. One year in office had convinced him more than ever that the time had come when the Legislature should make a thorough examination of the methods of executive administration work "and the adoption of such changes as will bring into complete responsibility to the people, and will simplify machinery at present complex, without system or uniformity".

He briefly sketched the gradual but large growth of executive work and executive offices in the more than 100 years that had elapsed since the institution of constitutional gov-

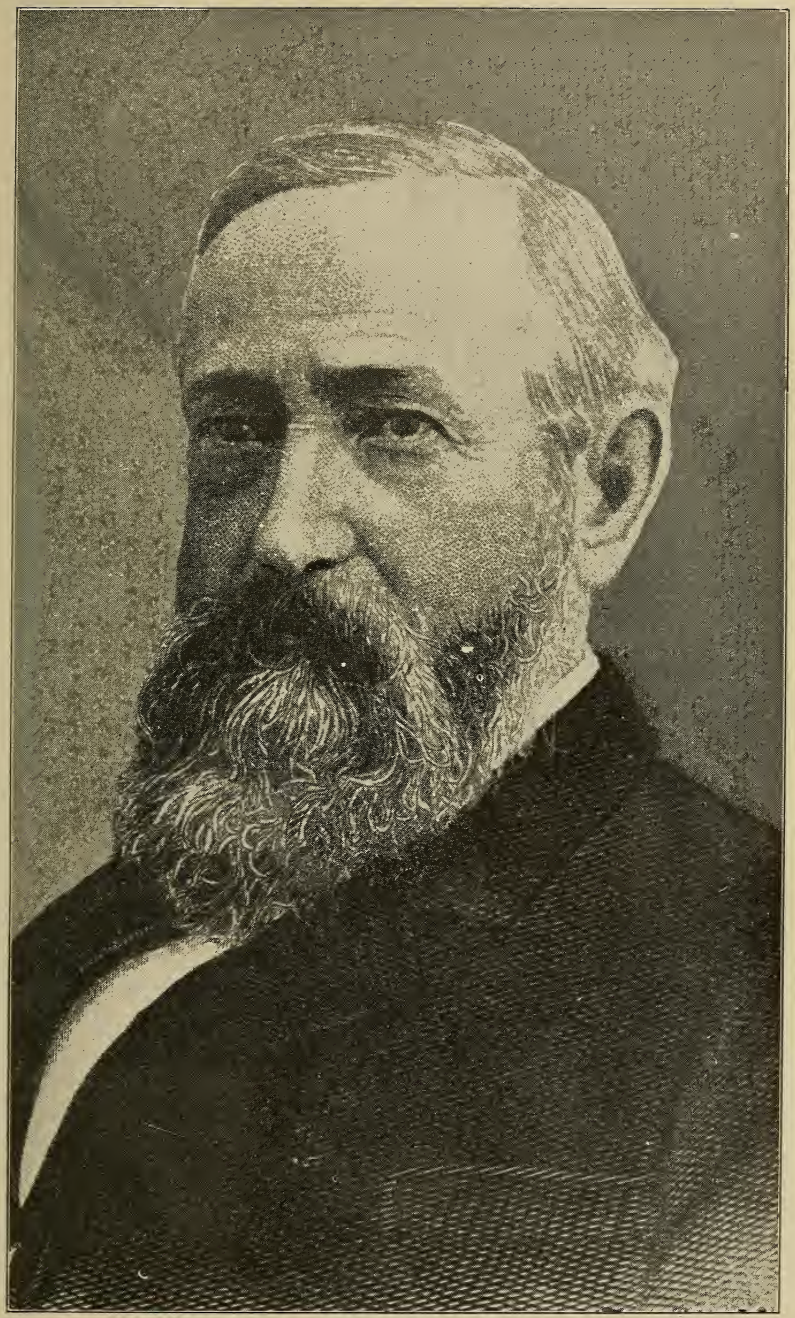
ernment in the State. "There are over 25 State commissions and more than 100 trustees of public institutions. Whether this number can be reduced by abolition or consolidation of offices has been considered by a special committee of the last Legislature, who will submit to you the result of its investigation," said he. Only eight officers, the Governor pointed out, could be removed by the Governor alone upon his own responsibility. This, he complained, was the extent of his responsible executive control.

"Suppose," he argued, "that some administrative board, within its limited authority in part to administer the people's government, should knowingly adopt a policy against the wish of the people, or against their will as deliberately expressed through their Legislature,—are the people to have no control over such board or its action? Is their government to this extent to be beyond their reach?

"All must agree that the safe and democratic form of government is to make these administrative officers in some way responsible to the people. The power of removal, as a necessity for responsible control, must then be vested in the executive department; and I submit that it can best be vested in the head of that department."

The Executive Council was not disposed to give the Governor a free rein in removals and appointments, composed as it was of eight Republicans and one Democrat. The Governor in his first term had removed from office Police Commissioner Osborne of Boston for political activities. Mr. Osborne was a Republican, had been president of the Common Council of Boston and a factor in local politics. He was a cousin of Congressman William McKinley of Ohio, who afterwards became President of the United States. Mr. Osborne had powerful friends at court and the Council refused to oppose his removal. Mr. Osborne was made a political issue in the campaign just closed and Democrats charged that he used his influence as a police commissioner to get votes among liquor dealers for the Republican candidate for Governor. But this was not the only difference the Governor had had about appointments and removals with the Executive Board. Many Democrats advocated the abolition of the Council, but the Governor did not go as far as that in his inaugural. The Constitution, he said, created it "for advising the Governor, not for tieing his hands, not for dictating his appointments, not for exercising coordinate and equal power with him." He believed that there should be a confirming power in appointments to office.

The real question at issue, he said, was:



President Harrison.

"Whether power to remove shall be shared by the Council. This power is necessary for proper executive control. If not entrusted to one alone, either its efficiency is lost, or greatly impaired by divided responsibility. Such divided responsibility, or no responsibility, is the system of executive management established in this Commonwealth wholly by statute law, mostly of recent enactment. Experience has shown as practical results of such a system:

"First. That neither the Governor nor the people through him have any adequate power over the executive departments, of which he is the head, but his power is practically limited to suggestions, advice and appointments to fill vacancies.

"Second. That over many of the departments and executive offices there is no power of control in any one.

"Third. That the power of removal and so of control usually requires for its exercise a formal trial upon specific charges, and proof of absolute malfeasance in office.

"Fourth. That an officer of an important public department, accused of official misconduct which, in the opinion of the Governor, requires his removal, may remain in office without the confidence and against the will of his executive chief.

"Fifth. That a member of an important commission may hold his office indefinitely after his term has expired, without appointment and without the approval of the Governor.

"Sixth. That nominees of the Governor, beyond criticism and objection, may be refused confirmation for the sole and declared purpose of holding in office men when term of office had expired.

"Seventh. That with present limitations upon the power of removal, the power to confirm can always be used for this purpose and successfully in every case of an expired term."

After further argument and quotations from eminent public authorities endorsing his views, the Governor asked that legislation be passed giving the Chief Executive power to remove all administrative officers for cause, leaving to the Council the power of confirmation of appointments. But nothing came of the suggestion.

In his same inaugural Gov Russell reviewed the creation of the State Board of Police for the city of Boston in 1887, always a favorite topic with Democratic politicians who have never ceased to condemn the act as destructive of the principle of local self-government. Since then the city government of Boston has had no power over the police department.

"The declared reason for such legislation was mistrust of her citizens," observed the Governor. "I do not share that sentiment. On the contrary, I have not only a firm belief in their right to govern themselves, but full confidence in their capacity and ability to do so. The jurisdiction of this State Board over both licenses and police is a union of two distinct powers, which, in my judgment, it is not for the public interest to have united in any one board. The power of granting or revoking licenses is judicial in its character, the other is purely executive. The first should be vested in a board of such

appointment and tenure as to be judicial in its action; the other is a board responsible to the community over which it exercises executive control. I earnestly recommend a separation of these powers; that the control of her police be restored to the city of Boston; and that you then consider whether the control of licenses should be left in the present board, or placed in another board of such character, appointment and tenure that it will be above all political, personal or selfish influences, and will command the confidence of the people."

The Legislature was not responsive to the demands of the Governor for the restoration of the control and management of its police force to the municipal authorities, but the Executive Council did consent to the confirmation of the appointment of a successor to Commissioner Osborne when the latter's term expired.

Gov Russell congratulated the Legislature on the ratification and adoption by the people of the constitutional amendment abolishing the tax qualification for voting. There remained, however, one more step to be taken by the Legislature to complete the work of making the suffrage absolutely and completely free from all tax qualifications.

"As the people have, by an overwhelming majority, abolished the tax qualification so far as it was directly in their power, and as in the past suffrage has been uniform for all elections, with the single exception of a franchise for women, it is now necessary that this tax qualification should be abolished also in town and city elections," said he.

On this subject the Legislature showed commendable promptness in acting as requested. He again recommended the passage of a comprehensive and stringent law to secure the publication of election expenses. He further urged an amendment of the ballot law, so that a single mark might constitute a vote for all the presidential electors of a political party, which suggestion was enacted into law during the session.

The Governor renewed several suggestions made in his first inaugural and in special messages to the General Court as the last Legislature had not acted favorably on them, namely:

"First. Further legislation of a stringent and radical character to remedy the activities of the lobby.

"Second. The passage of several laws to relieve the Legislature and the public of the burden of constantly increasing special legislation.

"Third: Extension of the powers of cities and towns and of

local self-government, especially in matters of taxation, control and sale of franchises, and extending the limits of municipal work and of municipal ownership.

"Fourth: The passage of a general municipal law for the incorporation and government of cities, with the limitations heretofore suggested. This subject has been investigated by a special committee of the last Legislature, who will report to you the results of its investigation.

"Fifth. Legislation to prevent railroad corporations from giving free passes to members of the Legislature, or to other officials before whom come matters in which these corporations are interested.

"Sixth. A thorough reform in our system of land transfer and registration, upon the plan of the Australian or Torrens system, so called, to bring about greater freedom, security and cheapness in the transfer of real estate. You will have, in considering this subject, the benefit of the investigation made by a special committee of the last Legislature.

"Seventh. Further consideration of legislation asked for in the interest of labor, especially the reduction of the hours of labor of women and children employed in factories and workshops; amendment of the employer's liability act, to broaden its scope and make it more efficient and beneficent in its results; and further action for the proper protection of railroad employees against the dangers to which they are exposed. The appalling fact that in the United States, during the year ending June 30, 1890, 369 employees were killed in coupling or uncoupling cars, and 7,841 were injured, makes legislation for the adoption of safety appliances which will prevent such accidents imperative. National legislation is necessary as the only effective remedy. I recommend that, following the precedent of the Legislature of last year, you petition Congress to take action, and that you use every means possible to hasten a remedy."

He asked that a new weaver's fine bill be passed to take the place of the one declared by the Supreme Judicial Court to be unconstitutional.

The legislative session of 1892 was an interesting one. Senate and House contained several able men, some of whom have since acquired national fame in public affairs. In the House the foremost figure on the Republican side was Samuel W. McCall, who was elected that Fall a member of Congress and was destined to occupy a prominent place in the party councils at the national capital for the following 20 years, when he retired from congress. Returning to political life after a brief absence of one year, he was elected Governor in 1915, the first Republican in six years to be chosen. Mr. McCall was chairman of the committee on elections in the Legislature of 1892 and also head of the special committee on administrative boards and commissions which considered the Governor's recommendations relative to consolidating some of them and making them more responsible to the executive

head of the Commonwealth, but the committee recommended "No legislation necessary" and the report was accepted by the Legislature.

Frank P. Bennett of Everett was among the most independent Republicans of the House. He cherished the hope of being Speaker. The stumbling block in his path to the Speaker's chair was William E. Barrett, but if Mr. Barrett was his stumbling block Bennett was a thorn in the side of the Speaker and the two were seldom in unison on legislative questions. At that time Mr. Barrett was suspected of harboring senatorial ambitions to succeed the venerable U. S. Senator Henry L. Dawes of Pittsfield, whose term was to expire in March, 1893.

Other prominent members of this Legislature were Henry W. Ashley, of Westfield, one of the leading Democrats of the Western part of the State; Gen. Francis H. Appleton of Peabody, Benjamin Butler Barney of New Bedford, then a leading young Democrat; Col. Richard F. Barrett of Concord, a descendant of one of the Minutemen of that town; Lewis H. Bartlett of Lynn, afterward a member of the Executive Council.

The late Adjt. Gen. Brigham sat in the House from Hudson, William Pitt Buckley from Holyoke, Salem D. Charles, afterwards Street Commissioner of Boston for many years, was a member; the late Judge Louis M. Clark represented ward 24; Daniel H. Coakley, the prominent trial lawyer, represented one of the Cambridge wards; Perlie A. Dyar, for many years a prominent Republican figure in local politics, represented ward 11.

The late "Judge" Fallon sat from ward 6. Frederick H. Gillett, who was in the House from Springfield, was elected the same year to Congress and has been reelected every election since. John R. Graham, who died recently in Bangor, represented Quincy; Dennis E. Halley, who afterwards went to the Senate, was a Lawrence Representative; John Hopewell Jr. of Cambridge was a member.

George von L. Meyer, late ambassador and cabinet member, sat in the second division, representing ward 9. The veteran Democrat "Jim" Parker sat for Methuen, Wellington E. Parkhurst of Clinton, brother of Dr. Parkhurst of New York was one of the fighting Republicans of the House of 1892. Alfred S. Roe was a member of the Worcester delegation. Bentley W. Warren, legislative counsel for street railway cor-

porations, was a Democratic member, representing Ward 25, Boston.

George Fox Tucker of New Bedford was one of the best debaters of the House. Of late years Mr. Tucker hasn't trained with the Republicans. Arthur H. Wellman was one of the ablest members of that year.

The Legislature was prorogued at 12.30 on June 17. Among the important laws passed were: An act prohibiting railroads issuing passes to the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Councilors, Judges and members of the Legislature. Such persons were forbidden to solicit or to accept passes in any form. Mileage was fixed for the legislative session at $2 per mile in lieu of passes on which so many of the members of the General Court travelled.

Championed by Samuel W. McCall, head of the committee on Election Laws, an act was passed forbidding corrupt practices at elections, defined the purposes for which candidates might expend money to secure an election and set forth the manner returns should be made. It forbade committees to solicit campaign contributions, but of course contributions could still be made voluntarily.

It was made a crime punishable by a fine of $100 to compel an employe to agree not to join a labor organization by another act. Another law in behalf of organized labor fixed the hours of employment of women and minors in manufacturing establishments at 58 hours a week. The Weavers fine bill was repealed and a substitute was enacted which provided that:

"The system now or at any time hereafter employed by manufacturers of grading their work shall in no way affect or lessen the wages of a weaver except for imperfections in his or her own work, and in no case shall the wages of those engaged in weaving be affected by fines or otherwise, unless the imperfections complained of are at first exhibited and pointed out to the person or persons whose wages are to be affected, and no fine shall be imposed upon any person for imperfect weaving unless the provisions of this section are first applied and the amount of the fines are agreed upon by both parties."

Lotteries were prohibited and the appointment of persons not residents of the State as special police was prohibited. The latter was at the behest of the labor people also.

The registration laws were amended and codified and a

committee was named to arrange and codify the laws relative to elections and ordered to report to the next general court.

Medford and Everett were incorporated as cities and a general law was passed under which towns of 12,000 might become incorporated as cities. West Tisbury was set off as a separate town from Tisbury.

The state tax was fixed at $1,750,000, $500,000 was appropriated for buildings for the chronic insane to be erected at Medfield and an additional $75,000 was voted for the World's Fair at Chicago.

The salary of the Governor was raised from $5000 to $8000 and $10,000 was set aside for the State Firemen's Fund for the relief of firemen's widows and families. A law was passed regulating the organization and conduct of fraternal beneficiary societies.

The Naval Brigade was established and a law was passed punishing the fraudulent marking of ballots.

After the legislative session the Governor was busy taking in the commencements and the cattle shows. His popularity was as great as ever and he decided to run again. The Republicans figured that in a Presidential year they would probably elect their candidate for Governor. By common consent the nomination was accorded Lieut Gov William H. Haile of Springfield.

The name of Gov Russell had often been mentioned as a possible candidate for President. His own State stood ready to present his name if the opportunity presented itself. He and most of his friends believed that the wisest course would be to renominate Grover Cleveland.

There was an attempt at the Convention which elected the delegates-at-large that year to start a demonstration for Gov David Bennett Hill of New York, but Gen Collins promptly objected to being hitched to the tail of Hill's kite, informed the convention that he wore no man's collar and would go to the Convention free to do what he believed to be the best thing for the party.

The Republicans held their convention at Minneapolis that year. Their Delegates-at-Large were: William W. Crapo, J. Q. A. Brackett, William Cogswell and W. Murray Crane. Mr. Crane was a new Lochinvar from the West. Gen Cogswell stood well in Congress, was close to President Harrison, served as chairman of the Committee on Credentials, a posi-

tion requiring hard work and long hours. William McKinley of Ohio was permanent Chairman of the Convention. The Massachusetts delegation cast on the first formal ballot 18 votes for Harrison's renomination, 11 for McKinley and one for Blaine. Mr. Crane was chosen for National Committeeman and began his long and useful career as a member of that body.

The Prohibitionists were the first to hold their State Convention, meeting at Worcester June 2 and nominating Wolcott Hamlin of Springfield for Governor, adopted their usual platform on the liquor question and putting in a strong plank on the public schools, intended to catch some A. P. A. votes. The A. P. A., the so-called American Protective Association, had begun to make itself felt and all the political parties except the Democrats began to cater to them by incorporating high sounding phrases about church and State, the public school and Americanism, designed to please those who professed to believe that the country and its institutions were in danger of foreign control. Like the predecessor of a generation before, the Knownothings, it found men high in party councils willing to agree with them and encourage them in their pleadings.

The Republicans met in Boston Sept 14 and nominated Lieut Gov Haile for first place and Roger Wolcott of Boston for Lieutenant Governor.

Gov Russell was nominated by acclamation by the Democrats, who met in Boston. He appeared before the Convention and accepted his sixth nomination, making one of his characteristic, eloquent, energetic speeches that fired with renewed enthusiasm those who heard it. James B. Carroll of Springfield was nominated without opposition for Lieutenant Governor.

The People's Party renominated Winn. The campaign was waged with unusual vigor on both sides. The Republicans pushed national issues to the front. The Republican electoral ticket swept the State by a vote of 202,874 against 176,813 for the Democratic electors. Russell received 10,000 more votes than the Democratic electors and Mr. Haile 19,000 less than the Harrison electors. Massachusetts voters again preferred Russell for Governor to his opponent and he added another laurel to his brow. Politicians could conceive of him carrying

the state in an off year, but that he would do so in a presidential year was beyond their calculations.

The vote for Governor was: Russell, 186,377; Haile, 183,843.

Roger Wolcott was an easy winner over James B. Carroll of Springfield, the vote for Lieutenant Governor was: Wolcott, 180,358; Carroll, 170,121.

The Republicans elected 10 Congressmen this year, the Democrats three, although one of the latter, Michael J. McEttrick, was classed as an Independent. This was a gain of five seats for the Republicans.

The State Senate chosen was made up of 30 Republicans and 10 Democrats. The House election resulted in 165 Republicans, 74 Democrats and one tie. On the question of striking out of the Constitution the property qualification of the Governor the vote was Yes 141,321, No 68,045.

By this time Gov Russell had come to be regarded by his opponents as unbeatable. They had tried three different types of candidates and all had failed to defeat him. Every time he ran he increased his vote. The presidency and governorship had been captured by Democrats, but the Republicans found some consolation in the notable gains they made in congressional seats and in the Legislature.

President Cleveland.

CHAPTER IV.

MASSACHUSETTS' PART IN NATIONAL CAMPAIGN OF 1892—DEMOCRATS WITH CLEVELAND—REPUBLICANS LACK ENTHUSIASM FOR HARRISON—BAY STATE MEN FARE WELL UNDER SECOND CLEVELAND ADMINISTRATION.

THE Democrats held their National Convention this year at Chicago, the Republicans at Minneapolis. The latter renominated President Harrison. The Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland for the third time. Five of the 30 Massachusetts delegates declined to vote for Cleveland's nomination. Four of them voted for David B. Hill, of New York. The other voted for Gov. Russell. Mr. Cleveland was an easy winner, receiving 616 votes to 114 for Hill. There was a bitter feeling between the Hill and Cleveland factions in the Democratic party in New York. The feud spread among the Democrats far and wide. New York went to the convention violently and unalterably opposed to the selection of Cleveland. Mr. Cleveland had offended many Democratic leaders in his own State by his appointments and treatment of them. Gov Hill had been out of favor with the Cleveland element of the party, because of his open opposition to Mr. Cleveland. Hill was the center of the opposition to Cleveland's nomination. The Empire state cast its 72 votes for Hill. Bourke Cockran, then in the good graces of the Wigwam, made the nominating speech for Hill. Gov Abbett of New Jersey named Cleveland. Gov Boies of Iowa was placed in nomination and received 103 votes.

In the preliminary Democratic Convention talk, Gov. Russell's name was frequently and favorably mentioned, but his geographical location militated against him. Nobody ever seriously believed that the Democrats would come to Massachusetts for their presidential candidate. Gov Russell had no such illusion and he made it pretty plain that he desired the nomination of Mr. Cleveland, with whom he was on intimate terms. Mr. Cleveland had established his summer home at Buzzard's Bay on the Cape and always lent a helping hand to

Russell in his State campaigns. In the previous State campaign he had come up from the Cape and made a speech at the Democratic ratification meeting in Boston. On other occasions when Russell was a candidate he wrote letters commending him and urging his election.

Gov Russell was Mr. Cleveland's guest at Buzzard's Bay during the sessions of the Chicago Convention and was one of the first to congratulate him on the morning of his nomination. The Massachusetts Delegates-at-Large to the Democratic National Convention were Gen Collins, John E. Russell, John H. Sullivan and Albert C. Houghton. Gen John W. Cockran was elected as one of the delegates-at-large, but having been appointed by Gov Russell a judge of the Superior Court he named Mr. Sullivan to act for him. Mr. Sullivan was one of the alternates.

Mr. Houghton was a prominent manufacturer of North Adams and won a place on the delegation after as lively a contest as had ever been waged in the State. His opponent was Col Walter Cutting of Pittsfield. Col Cutting was a member of Gov Russell's staff. He had long been identified with the party and was a man of means. The night before the convention which was to elect the four delegates-at-large and the four alternates, Cutting and Houghton opened headquarters at the old Tremont House. Both men had many friends in the party, but they must have been surprised at their extensive acquaintance that night. Their headquarters swarmed with men cheering and shouting for one or the other and sometimes both.

The landlord of the hotel was given orders to spare no expense. Wine flowed like water. The freer it flowed the freer the talk of the delegates and visitors. Everybody ate, drank and was merry. Houghton began entertaining earlier than Cutting and kept it up longer. The delegates thought well of Houghton as an entertainer evidently. He got the most votes and won a place on the delegation.

No man in New England was better known in a Democratic national gathering than Gen Collins. He was permanent chairman of the St. Louis Democratic convention four years before. As soon as the Massachusetts delegation arrived in the convention city Gen Collins and John E. Russell, who was also well and favorably known by the leading Democrats of the country, were invited into a conference of the friends of

Cleveland. Committees were named to meet incoming delegations and impress upon them the value of Mr. Cleveland's name and record to the party in the coming campaign.

Mr. Cleveland's friends worked hard and systematically. His personal representative on the scene was William C. Whitney of New York, who directed the fight for the ex-President. The opposition was noisy and the New York situation naturally gave them considerable uneasiness, but Tammany has never cut much of a figure in national conventions in recent years and Tammany was Cleveland's bitterest foe. The anti-Cleveland forces contested every inch of ground, but they were up against it. Mr. Cleveland's friends decided to force the fighting once the contest opened. They planned to nominate him on the first ballot, and they succeeded. The opposition fought hard and then demanded adjournment. Mr. Whitney shook his head and said vote. It was early in the morning. The dawn was breaking as the tabulators announced the result.

Gen Collins made one of the seconding speeches for Cleveland. It was short but effective and made a profound impression on the convention. Said he:

"I belong to that class of Democrats, fortunately large, who are for and not against some other Democrat. I am a constructionist not a destroyer. I believe that every state in the Union contains at least one Democrat fit to be President of the United States, and I deplore the malignity with which certain eminent gentlemen, not very far from the state of New York, have been hounded and misrepresented by the fool friends of other people. As I say, I believe that every state has at least one man large enough—including my own state (cheers and cries of "Russell")—large enough to be President of the United States, but there stands forward one man, taller than all the rest. (Great cheering.) You may examine the sentiment and analyze the reason, and reject it because you cannot solve it, because it eludes analysis; and yet stronger than any other man in this or any preceding generation, and in the hearts of the Democracy of this country, is the name and the fame of Grover Cleveland."

William W. Crapo of New Bedford was the chairman of the Massachusetts delegation to the 1892 Republican Convention. He was one of the four delegates-at-large and he had as his associates ex-Gov Brackett, Congressman Cogswell and W. Murray Crane, the latter a new name and face in the councils of the party, destined to play a large and important part in the politics of the State and Nation in a few years.

Massachusetts' part in the convention of 1892 was not important. Gen. Cogswell was chairman of the Committee on Credentials and ex-Gov. Brackett was placed on the Committee on Resolutions. Gen. Cogswell was Gen. Harrison's personal friend. Harrison was not what might be called a popular President. Some of his party associates said some mean things of him. Thomas B. Reed was quoted as referring to him as "the ice man." There was quite a sentiment running among Republicans in behalf of William McKinley of Ohio for the nomination. Mr. McKinley, author of the McKinley tariff bill which was repudiated at the polls in 1900 and its sponsor went down to defeat, but the Republican leaders decided to renew the battle on tariff lines in 1892 and defiantly put Major McKinley into the presiding officer's chair of the Minneapolis convention. Instead of apologizing for McKinleyism the Republicans glorified it.

On the question of nominating a presidential candidate Massachusetts voted as follows: Harrison, 18; McKinley, 11; Blaine, 1. Mr. Blaine received 182 votes in the convention, showing that a few Republicans still clung to the "Plumed Knight." Blaine had resigned in a huff as Secretary of State in Harrison's cabinet and his friends in this and other ways manifested their disapproval of Harrison's treatment of him. There were many rumors regarding the reason for Blaine's sudden resignation from the cabinet. One of the stories that would not down was that President Harrison refused to jump Col Coppinger, Blaine's son-in-law, over the heads of several other army officers who outranked him for brigadier general. Whatever the cause was Mr. Blaine's intimate friends knew at the time that he was far from being a well man. He died the January following.

Major McKinley's vote was the same as Mr. Blaine's, showing that a substantial element in the convention had not been reconciled to Gen Harrison. Gen Cogswell was placed on the committee to notify the President of his renomination. An attempt was made to nominate Thomas B. Reed of Maine as the candidate for Vice-President. In view of Mr. Reed's personal opinion of Gen Harrison as President, such a move would have been ridiculous if carried out. Mr. Littlefield of Maine appealed to the delegates not to nominate Reed as nobody had any authority to present Mr. Reed's name to the convention as a candidate. Mr. Reed's name was withdrawn

and Whitelaw Reid of New York, editor of the Tribune, was nominated for second place by acclamation.

There was no heart in the Republican campaign that year. Hence little enthusiasm. The Democrats kept up their fight on the tariff and Cleveland landed back in the White House, with a Democratic congress.

The vote for the national ticket in Massachusetts was: Harrison, 202,815; Cleveland, 176,813; a plurality of 26,000 for Harrison.

The Republicans elected 10 of the 13 congressmen.

Massachusetts was not forgotten by Mr. Cleveland in his distribution of the plums. He selected Richard Olney of Boston, a well known Democrat and corporation lawyer, for Attorney General in his cabinet. Later Mr. Olney became Secretary of State. Very few of the Democratic rank and file knew Mr. Olney, but the older men of the party knew him well and enthusiastically endorsed his selection. Mr. Olney's legal talents had been employed many years by public service corporations. He was recognized as a sound lawyer and an able advocate. He was the kind of man who would appeal to Mr. Cleveland—conservative, well balanced and tenacious. As Secretary of State he twisted the British lion's tail when it attempted to place its paw on Venezuelan territory. The Anglomaniacs of the country stood aghast when they read the virile letters that were exchanged between the American Secretary of State and the British foreign office. Such impudence! What if the British lion should take a notion to make a meal of the American eagle? "The idea of Uncle Sam perking up and talking back to 'Cousin' John Bull! Wouldn't it be awful if the 'Mother Country' sent over a fleet of dreadnaughts and cleared South American waters of American man'o'wars men!" they exclaimed.

Mr. Olney did not share the feelings of his timid fellow citizens. John Bull must let go of what she thought she had and arbitrate the question. After a lot of blustering England consented to arbitrate and the Monroe doctrine was again made a living American political principle.

The next big plum which Mr. Cleveland handed out to a Massachusetts man was the Consul generalship at London, England, which went to Gen Patrick A. Collins. Among Gen Collins' friends there was a feeling that Mr. Cleveland had made a great mistake in his first administration in not tender-

ing a place in his cabinet to the Bostonian. No Democrat in New England had the following Gen Collins had. The New England member of Mr. Cleveland's first cabinet was William Endicott of Massachusetts, who was Secretary of War. A day or two after the election of 1892 Gen Collins, accompanied by his law partner, Gen Corcoran, went to New York. Gen Collins was a dinner guest of William C. Whitney. At the same dinner was Col Dan Lamont, who had been Mr. Cleveland's private secretary. The question of patronage was freely discussed at this dinner. The feeling was that Gen Collins might be invited into the second Cleveland cabinet, but this he did not care for. He could not afford it. A foreign ambassadorship was suggested to him at another conference.

Gen Collins intimated that if Mr. Cleveland was disposed to honor him he would consider the consul generalship at London. That was then the juciest plum within the gift of the President. Collins' selection for this post was finally semi-officially announced. The question was raised in the press: Will the appointment of an old Fenian, Land Leaguer. and Nationalist like Gen Collins be satisfactory to England? Assurances were received from the Gladstone ministry that there was no disposition to object to Gen Collins' appointment. That question having been settled, Mr. Cleveland formally tendered Gen Collins the position and the latter accepted. On the eve of his departure for London, Gen Collins was given a complimentary banquet by 100 leading Bostonians representing various races and religious views.

Josiah Quincy was made an Assistant Secretary of State to Walter Q. Gresham, but did not remain long. Mr. Quincy was regarded as the headsman of the department. He had served on the Democratic National Committee in the campaign and was one of the managers of the contest. By reason of his activities in the campaign he was in a position to know the deserving men of his party. Charles S. Hamlin, a young tariff reformer who impressed Mr. Cleveland as a desirable man in his official political family, was made Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under John G. Carlisle.

CHAPTER V.

GOV. RUSSELL'S THIRD TERM—RETIREMENT OF SENATOR DAWES—HENRY CABOT LODGE, HIS SUCCESSOR—DR. EVERETT ELECTED IN LODGE'S CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT—REPUBLICANS TURN TO GREENHALGE AS THEIR POLICAL MOSES—DEMOCRATS TO JOHN E. RUSSELL.

DEEPLY grateful to the people of Massachusetts for their thrice expressed confidence in him, Gov Russell was inaugurated for the third time Jan. 4, 1893. The novelty of inaugurating a Democratic Governor in rock ribbed Republican Massachusetts had by no means worn off, judging from the number of people present. When the Governor stood up to deliver his inaugural he was greeted by a crowd that filled the chamber of the House of Representatives to its fullest capacity. The inaugural address took the form of a valedictory, the Governor observing that he construed the duty of the Legislature and the Executive

"To deal with broader matters than the specific recommendations of departments—and to suggest principles of legislation and necessary reforms, rather than to perfunctorily indorse or transmit details of administration."

He felt that as he had made his last two campaigns largely on the issue of more power over administrative boards and commissions by the chief executive that he was justified in again urging the passage of laws widening the sphere of gubernatorial authority over such boards and commissions and in demanding that the council be shorn of its power to prevent the removal of State executive officials in whom the Governor had lost confidence.

"It was my privilege in addressing the Legislature of 1891 to recommend important and fundamental reforms in reference to qualifications for the suffrage, protection of elections and legislation from improper influences, relief from special legislation, greater system and responsibility in administration and other matters,—all to the end that law might ever be the free, true expression of the people's will, and its administration just, pure and honest," said he. "In 1892 in my inaugural address and in special messages, I directed the attention of the Legislature to the executive branch

of our government, to the great increase of its duties, the lack of uniformity or system in its organization, and its entire absence of responsibility; and I urged such changes as would create complete responsibility to the people and would remedy these evils."

Some of these recommendations of the past two years had become law. He again urged the enactment of a stringent corrupt practices act. The House under the leadership of Samuel W. McCall the year before had passed such an act but the Senate killed it.

On the mooted question—the abolition of the Executive Council—he had this to say:

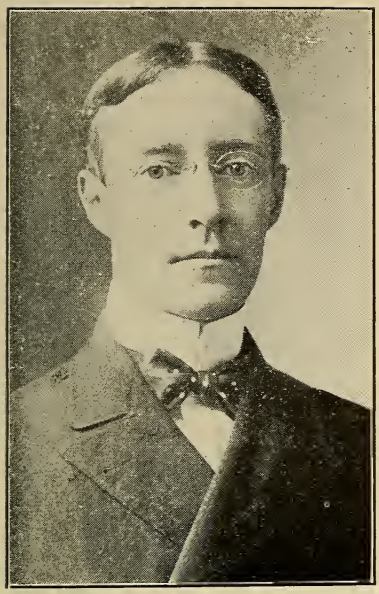
"The question of continuing in our executive system an elected council, which exists in but three of our forty-four states, and here has become the subject of serious criticism and opposition, I submit to your consideration. Its constitutional power is not important., and could well be exercised by other existing bodies. The power given it by legislation to control, concurrently with the Governor, some executive boards and departments, is, in its exercise, either perfunctory, and so unimportant, or, if dependent, necessarily divides responsibility and so becomes inconsistent with any sound system of executive management. There are no such peculiar conditions of executive work in this Commonwealth as to require the continued existence of this now anomalous institution. If however, its power were properly limited to its constitutional duties, it might perhaps remain as a harmless concession to a conservative, antiquarian sentiment."

Under the head of the executive control of State commissions, he said:

"I again renew the suggestions and recommendations I have heretofore made upon this general subject; first, that certain unnecessary offices and commissions be abolished; second, that proper steps be taken to simplify and systematize the machinery for administrative work; third, that administration be placed upon a basis of full responsiblity to the people, by vesting in the Governor alone the power to remove, for cause stated, any executive officer appointed by him."

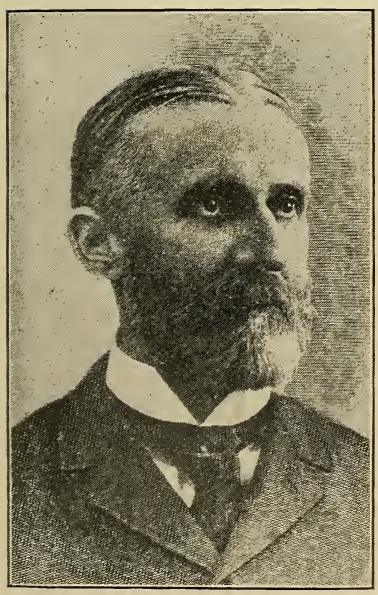
"I also renew the recommendation thrice made by my experienced predecessor, Governor Long, that the people be given an opportunity to express their opinion upon the need of an elected executive council, by submission to them of a constitutional amendment providing for its abolition."

The Governor again referred to the growing tendency of the Legislature to exercise its paternal power over the cities and towns of the Commonwealth which he deprecated as a violation of the principle of home rule and local self-government.



Bentley W. Warren.

John E. Russell.



Albert C. Houghton.

James Donovan.

"A law, said he, "founded on a mistrust of the people, removing government beyond their reach and officials beyond their control, is certain to lead to grave abuses. Such has been our experience with state control of the police of Boston. The Board of Police by its acts has deservedly lost the confidence of the citizens of Boston and of the people of the Commonwealth. I again earnestly recommend the separation of the powers of this board; that the control of her police, which is a purely administrative function, be restored to the city of Boston; that the control of licenses, which is judicial in its nature, be placed in a board of such character, appointment and tenure as to be judicial in its action. It is within your power thus to correct a serious evil, do justice to the city of Boston, and a service to the whole community. I shall endeavor by executive action to lift this board out of politics, and to give assurances to the public that the administration of the important interests under its control shall be efficient, upright, and free from partisan perversion."

It was not until some years later in the administration of Curtis Guild Jr. that the Legislature consented to do in part what Gov Russell asked it to do in his time. In Gov Guild's term, the power of granting the licenses was transferred to another commission,—the licensing board, being created for this purpose, but the Legislature steadfastly refused to give back to Boston the control of its police force and of late years Democratic State platforms ceased to demand it. The police board of Boston was put under a one man commission. Gov Guild appointed as police commissioner Stephen O'Meara, a retired journalist. Mr. O'Meara was traveling abroad at the time and his appointment was a genuine surprise to the public and the politicians. So well did he discharge the duties of the office that he was reappointed by Gov Foss at the expiration of his last term.

The incorporation of safe deposit and trust companies, like savings and co-operative banks, under the scrutiny and authority of the Savings Bank Commissioner, instead of being, as then, a matter of special legislation was recommended and a general law passed. He asked the Legislature to consider the expediency of providing a general law for the sale of new railroad stock by auction, or other disposition of it at its market value where such value is in excess of par, instead of its distribution to its stockholders at par as then permitted.

The important questions affecting Metropolitan Boston, relating to sewerage, rapid transit, parks, and water supply were called to the attention of the Legislature and showed an

intelligent, comprehensive grasp of these vital and important problems of interest to the residents of this densely populated section of the State. Gov Russell was an advocate of good roads and touched on this subject in his inaugural. In a special message to the Legislature of 1891 he pleaded for a reform in the system of land registration and suggested the introduction of the Torrens system, but the Legislature procrastinated and in this his last inaugural he again urged it.

Fast Day, an old institution of the Commonwealth, had become little more than a holiday. In its place, April 19th was suggested as a substitute and is now known as Patriots Day, commemorating as it does the first armed resistance to British rule in the 13 colonies, but action was deferred.

One of Gov Russell's Democratic successors, Eugene N. Foss, used to insist on making Canadian reciprocity his paramount issue in his political activities as a Republican and later as a Democrat, but to William E. Russell must be given credit as the pioneer advocate of this political dogma, which, when submitted to the Canadians they rejected with contempt and turned out of office Sir Wilfred Laurier and his Liberal Cabinet, when President Taft 20 years later offered to the Canadian government his reciprocity scheme. In his message in 1893 Gov Russell said on Canadian reciprocity:

"The establishment of closer trade relations between the United States and the Dominion of Canada is a matter for much importance to this Commonwealth. On few subjects is there a stronger interest or greater unanimity of sentiment among our citizens. To our manufacturers and merchants it will give the opportunity for a large extension of trade, by opening to them an important and profitable market, and an abundant supply of the raw materials necessary for our various industries. A broad measure of reciprocity with Canada would make Massachusetts, and especially Boston, the industrial and commercial center of a greatly enlarged territory, add to our prosperity and wealth, and to the welfare of our people. While the settlement of the question is beyond your power, I believe it would be both proper and wise to express to Congress by resolution this opinion of Massachusetts upon it."

President Pinkerton was reelected presiding officer of the Senate and Speaker Barrett was again chosen for the same position in the House.

By far the most important political happening in the legislature of 1893 was the election of Henry Cabot Lodge U. S. Senator to succeed Henry L. Dawes. Mr. Dawes was in

his 77th year and had indicated his desire to retire and spend his declining years among the hills of Berkshire where he was born. He had served in the Senate since 1875. He had been a member of Congress from 1857 until his election as Senator.

Prior to his service at Washington he had served in both branches of the Legislature. He was an experienced legislator at the time of the Constitutional convention of 1853 and was regarded as one of the able lawyers of that distinguished body. After the Constitutional convention he was elected district attorney for the western district of the State, serving in that capacity four years. From the office of district attorney he went to congress. In all he had spent 45 years in public life and felt that he had earned a rest from official cares. He was as poor at the end of his senatorial career as he was when he entered public life. He had seen associates in Washington grow rich in the public service, but to him a good name was to be preferred to great riches. A position was provided for him by his friends at Washington as chairman of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory, which he held until his death in 1903.

Mr. Dawes' friends at home also saw to it that he did not want in his old age. They tendered him a banquet in Boston on his retirement and presented him a purse of gold,--ample for his simple life and he spent the next ten years of his eventful career with his books at his modest home in Pittsfield, occasionally journeying to Washington in connection with his official duties as Commissioner to the Civilized Tribes of Indians.

For upwards of two years the political gossips had it that Henry Cabot Lodge wanted to be Senator. When Mr. Dawes' retirement was decided upon, Mr. Lodge and his friends lost no time in getting into the senatorial canvass. There was some talk of William W. Crapo of New Bedford, but when the Republican caucus was held Mr. Crapo received but 30 votes. The rest were cast for Lodge. When the Legislature balloted, Mr. Lodge had every Republican vote cast. Patrick A. Collins received the Democratic vote, the ballot in the House being: Henry Cabot Lodge, Nahant, 161; Patrick A. Collins, Boston, 71; absent or not voting, 7.

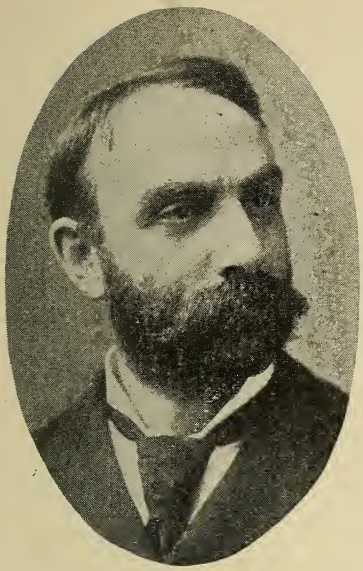
In the Senate the vote was: Henry Cabot Lodge, Nahant, 29; Patrick A. Collins, Boston, 10; absent, 1.

Mr. Lodge was admirably equipped for his duties as Senator. He was in the prime of life. Possessed of ample means, with a liberal education, broadened by foreign travel and intimate acquaintance with the leading men at home and abroad, a student of American history, a man of letters, a polished speaker who could hit out from the shoulder if necessary, a strong party man and with a full appreciation of the great honor paid him by the Republicans of the State, Mr. Lodge took his seat March 4, 1893, under a Democratic President, Grover Cleveland, his certificate of election signed by a Democratic Governor of Massachusetts.

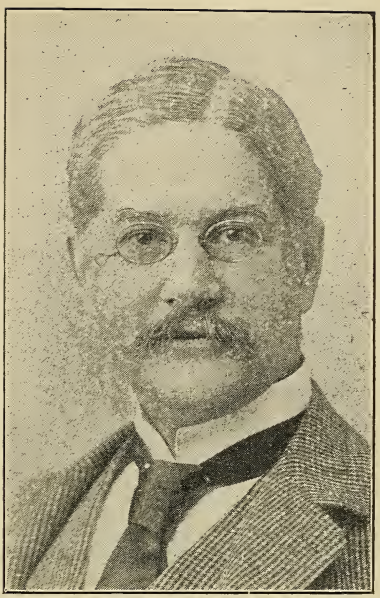
From a party standpoint he had earned the right to aspire to fill the seat formerly occupied by Webster and Sumner. In his early manhood the temptation to bolt his party more than once beset him as it did every other young man of those days. The Tilden campaign for the Presidency lured many Republicans from their party. The nomination of Blaine in 1884 was distasteful to large numbers of young Republicans. Mr. Lodge preferred another candidate, but as one who believes that this is "a government of laws not of men," a Republican by conviction he remained loyal to the nominee of his party. To him as much as any one Republican in the State was due the victory of the party in 1883, when, as the tireless, energetic resourceful chairman of the State committee he directed the Robinson campaign and defeated Gov Butler for reelection.

He had served in the Legislature and had been elected to the 50th, 51st and 52nd congresses. His voice had been heard in every nook and corner of the State for years in behalf of his party and its candidates. A hard hitter with a sharp tongue capable of lashing a political opponent into fury, the Democrats and not a few of his own party had made him a favorite political target for years. He struck back and asked no favors of his opponents. In party councils he was always positive. Although often called "the scholar in politics" he was always practical. Fine spun theories are all right in their time and place, but Mr. Lodge believed that in politics votes counted and told the result. His unanimous election by his party as senator Jan. 17, 1893, was a matter of great personal satisfaction to him as it was a formal approval of his political course in the decade just passed.

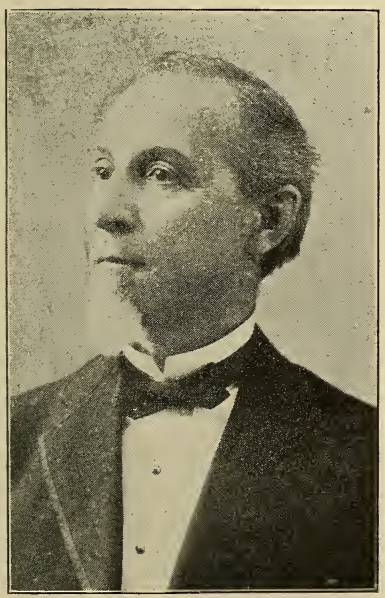
The election of Mr. Lodge as Senator made it neces-



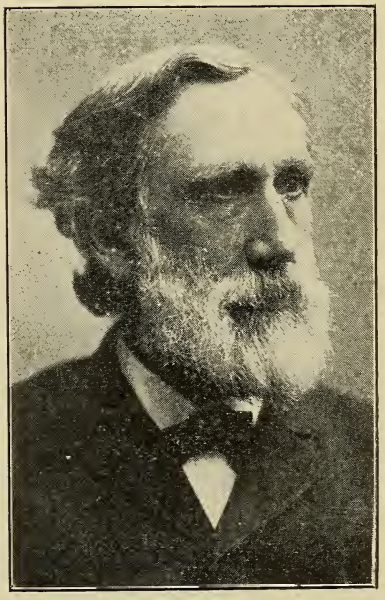
Albert E. Pillsbury.



Charles H. Allen.



Thomas N. Hart.



William W. Crapo.

sary to hold a special election in the seventh congressional district. The election was held April 25. William E. Barrett, Speaker of the House, was the Republican candidate and Dr. William Everett of Quincy was the Democratic nominee. The People's party nominated George H. Cary and the Prohibitionists Rev Louis A. Banks.

Mr. Barrett was not personally popular. The vote was much smaller than usual and Dr. Everett was finally successful in "depositing one Republican in a cavity." He was elected by a small plurality, the vote being: Everett, 9763; Barrett, 9699; Cary, 1001; Banks, 602. That made the delegation to congress nine Republicans and four Democrats.

Gen Benjamin F. Butler died Jan. 11, 1893, at the age of 75. For a half century he had been a prominent figure in the political, military and legal life of Massachusetts. Like all men of strong character he had many enemies. He had changed his politics often. He was regarded by his friends as a statesman. His opponents looked upon him as a tricky politician. He had been a Democrat and Republican, then a Democrat and then a Republican. Those who care to revive the controversy whether he was a great man or a person of average ability as a lawyer, soldier, congressman and Governor will find plenty of literature pro and con on that question.

A disinterested observer, however, would not be likely to accept for example Senator Hoar's estimate of Gen Butler's character, nor would one care to accept Gen Butler's estimate of himself as set forth in his own story of his career entitled "Butler's Book." It must be admitted that Gen Butler did many good things in his public career. He was generally with the under dog. He turned some pretty sharp corners in his busy life, but on the whole it must be said that when his account with the public is balanced it will be found that the good that he did will outweigh the bad that he is charged with by his enemies.

The State paid its mark of respect by sending to his funeral a large delegation from the Legislature and Gov Russell attended with his staff. Almost annually the friends of Gen Butler have tried to secure the passage of a resolve through the Legislature authorizing the erection of a statue of him on the State House grounds, but just as regularly Butler's opponents have been on hand to oppose it and thus far have succeeded in preventing its passage.

This year witnessed in the Legislature the authorization of the Boston Transit Commission. The charter of the Cape Cod Canal Co. lapsed because of the failure of the company to undertake the building and a new company was chartered called the Old Colony and Interior Canal Co. The affairs of the Bay State Gas Co. were investigated this session and the Legislature decided that it had violated the law by issuing obligations of $4,500,000 and an act was passed annulling the charter unless the company cancelled them, which it did later, thus saving its charter.

A law was enacted, providing that all new issues of railroad corporation stock must first be offered to the stockholders at the market price thereof and all stock not so taken must be sold at public auction.

A law was passed to wind up the affairs of Endowment Orders so-called doing business under the act of 1888 and further operations by them prohibited. The Metropolitan Park Commission was created this year. The State tax this year had risen to $2,500,000; $100,000 was appropriated for the extermination of the gypsy moth. Nine hours a day was established for manual labor on State work, another concession to organized labor.

Three constitutional amendments were acted on this year, viz., that relative to the mileage of the members of the General Court proposed by the session of 1892 was approved and provisions made for its submission to the people at the November election. Another amendment proposed was the abolishing the requirement that commissioners of insolvency be elected by the people.

The length of the legislative session was 157 days.

Gov Russell was one of the Democratic Governors who participated in the second inaugural ceremonies of Grover Cleveland as President of the United States and was easily one of the favorites in the imposing inaugural parade. It became known early in his third term that he would not seek another reelection and his determination to retire from the governorship caused a flurry in the ranks of the Democracy. Almost every Democrat turned confidently and hopefully to his namesake, John E. Russell of Leicester, who consented to make the run if nominated. When the convention met John E. Russell was the unanimous choice of the Democracy.

On the Republican side there was considerable rivalry

for the gubernatorial nomination. Lieut Gov Wolcott was pressed to enter the contest for the nomination, but he declined to enter into an unseemly scramble for the honor.

Ex-Mayor Thomas N. Hart and Atty Gen Albert E. Pillsbury were active candidates, but ex-Congressman Greenhalge of Lowell had the call on the nomination and was an easy winner in the convention. The names of Hart or Pillsbury were not presented to the State convention, and Mr. Greenhalge was the only candidate. The nomination speech was made by Mr. Pillsbury, whose gracious and generous act paved the way for Republican reconciliation.

The Prohibitionists led off in the political contest that Fall, holding their convention in Worcester, Sept. 6th nominating Louis A. Banks, a well known clergyman. They were followed by the People's Party, who nominated George H. Cary.

The Democrats held their State convention in Boston Sept. 27. John E. Russell of Leicester was nominated for Governor and James B. Carroll was again named for Lieutenant Governor. The platform favored the direct election of United States Senators by the people, declared that the Executive Council should be abolished and endorsed the demands made by Gov Russell in his last inaugural for authority to remove State officials without advice or consent of the council. It denounced the "subserviency" of the Republican Senate to corporate influence, in preventing the passage of the anti-stock watering law. It also demanded that important matters of legislation be referred to the people for their approval and it went on record for substantial taxes on legacies and successions direct and collateral.

On Oct. 7th Republicans met in Boston and, as stated, unanimously nominated Greenhalge for Governor and renominated Wolcott for second place.

On State issues the platform eulogized the free school as the bulwark of freedom. "We shall stand by it no matter who shall assail it." declared the platform. It set forth that "The Republican party will have no common interest with the saloon or the groggery" and called for vigorous laws against "every offender against purity and honesty in elections."

It called attention to the fact that the expediency of levying a tax on legacies and successions was first commended

by a Republican Governor and favored a law that would reach all bequests and inheritances, direct and collateral. It met the Democratic demand for preventing stock manipulation by corporations by declaring in favor of drastic laws against such practices. It favored the referendum on local matters under reasonable restrictions.

Gov Russell made several speeches for the ticket, as did several prominent Democrats from outside the State. Some of John E. Russell's old congressional friends came into the State and spoke for him, but the breach in the Republican ranks had been healed. Republicans wanted to get back into the executive department and Mr. Greenhalge entered the canvass with a reunited Republican party. The election proved a Republican sweep. The Democratic vote dropped to its normal size and the Republicans swelled their totals, swamping the Democrats by a plurality of 36,000. The vote for Governor was:

Greenhalge, Republican, 192,613; Russell, Democrat, 156,910; Banks, Prohibitionist, 8556; Cary, Socialist, 4885; O'Neill, Socialist Labor, 2033.

The Legislature was more Republican than the year before, the Senate standing 33 Republicans and seven Democrats; the House, 183 Republicans and 56 Democrats.

The amendment to the Constitution fixing the new rate for mileage of members of the General Court was overwhelmingly adopted.

Governor Greenhalge.

CHAPTER VI.

GREENHALGE FIRST REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR IN THREE YEARS —RECOMMENDATION IN HIS FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS— SENATOR HOAR'S MODEL POLITICAL PLATFORM—LAST HE WROTE FOR HIS PARTY—DEMOCRATS ELECT BUT ONE MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

WHEN Frederick T. Greenhalge was inaugurated Governor, Jan. 4, 1894, the Republicans had not been in control of the executive department of the State government for three years. The country had passed through a financial panic and business depression. The Republicans blamed the Democratic national administration for the hard times. Massachusetts Republicans were coming into their own again. The old familiar faces of well known Bay State Republicans were once more in evidence at the inaugural ceremonies. The magic in the name of Russell had evidently lost its charm to many Republicans when William E. transferred the Democratic gubernatorial standard to John E., or was it because they felt that they had chastised their party enough for the time being and were ready to give back the chief magistracy of the Commonwealth? Whatever the cause the recent election returns proved that many of them had returned to the Republican fold and had accepted the candidacy of Mr. Greenhalge as a settlement of their real or fancied wrongs.

Mr. Greenhalge was an Englishman by birth, but he was an American to the core. He had passed the meridian of life when he came to the Governor's chair. He came with his parents to this country at an early age and his father found employment in the mills at Lowell. His education was received in the public schools of the Spindle City and at Harvard College. His young heart beat warmly for the Union cause and he was a volunteer in the Federal Army, but at the end of five months campaigning in the South, he was honorably discharged owing to illness contracted in the service. He studied law and was admitted to the bar, engaged in local

politics in his home city, became a member of the city government and was elected Mayor of Lowell. He was a delegate to the Republican national convention of 1884 and the next year was a member of the House of Representatives. He was a member of the 51st congress, but was defeated for reelection in 1890 by Moses T. Stevens of North Andover.

In every public office he held, Mr. Greenhalge displayed signal ability, high courage and intelligence in dealing with public questions. He had an engaging personality and was an attractive public speaker. He was well equipped for his new duties and he entered upon his new responsibility unhampered by campaign promises, except those he made on the stump and in his inaugural address.

Mr. Greenhalge was a master of rhetoric. That he was proud of his adopted Commonwealth is attested by his inaugural peroration.

"Among the commonwealths of the earth we believe that Massachusetts is facile princeps," said he. "What was said of the masterpiece of Grecian architecture two thousand years ago may well be applied to Massachusetts now. To her belongs 'the grandeur of antiquity and the grace of novelty.' Her achievements in science, literature and art, her intellectual development and the grace and completeness of her culture have made her the Attica of the New World. In schools, in courts of law, in works of charity, in factories and in workshops, in peace and in war, on land and on sea, her energy, example and leadership have been everywhere felt and everywhere respected.

"Almost three centuries of marvellous vicissitudes have robed her in the purple of heroic achievement and heroic endurance, and her brow is radiant with the newest thought of humanity.

"No accumulation of wealth could compensate for the loss of individual or national character.

"But Massachusetts has attained extraordinary material gains without losing the nobility and simplicity which marked the character of her early inhabitants."

These patriotic sentiments were applauded to the echo by those who heard them from his eloquent lips and have never been surpassed in beauty by any of her native sons who have been elevated to the highest office within the gift of their fellow citizens.

As a fitting climax he closed his first inaugural in these words:

"Upon one thing we must insist. The people of the newer Massachusetts must be taught to revere and emulate the people of elder Massachusetts in their fidelity to the principles of constitu-

tional liberty, in their public spirit, and fervid devotion to the common weal. In this way only can you be assured of the efficiency the prayer 'Sicut patribus sit Deus nobis,'—that ought to be learned by heart by every boy and girl in the Commonwealth and which entitle the author to be remembered as long as popular government exists."

How familiar this inaugural inhibition sounds even 20 years afterwards, uttered by Gov Greenhalge in 1894:

"The circumstances in which we find ourselves must convince us of the necessity of retrenchment and economy. In our present condition, it would be inconsistent and unwarrantable to permit even the semblance of extravagance, luxury, or unnecessary expenditure of any sort in the management of the public business entrusted to us at a time of crisis and trial. Public extravagance and private poverty go together only to prove how badly a State may be gov-

And, he added:

"Many projects, therefore, however worthy and commendable in themselves,—many most desirable improvements, which in more prosperous times would seem to be indispensable necessities, must, under existing circumstances, at least, be postponed."

But he reminded the legislators that

"Larger expenditures now are necessary in the charitable departments. Of one thing we may rest assured,' he said, "that whether in prosperity or adversity, under the providence of God, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, will continue to 'live and move and have its being.' It is not enough barely to live, or to move, but we must put forth every effort to enjoy the fullest and largest measure of life in the highest and truest sense. It is the noblest work of the statesman and legislator to secure and promote by every possible agency, by every effort and endeavor, this better life of the Commonwealth.

"Next in importance to economy," said he, "is the fair and equitable adjustment of taxation in which every citizen of the Commonwealth, rich or poor, is interested,—first—make the burden of taxation light, and, secondly, distribute it by a just and fair law."

On the question of public education Gov Greenhalge said that there was no room for narrowness, for intolerance, for prejudice. He was a firm believer in the public schools and gave as his opinion that no other agency welded the decisive elements of the population together as good as the public schools.

'It has been said that Waterloo was won on the play-grounds of Eton; with equal trust it may be said that many a well-fought field from Baltimore to Appomattox was won on the play-grounds

of the grammar schools of Massachusetts, and the spirit of fraternity and patriotism cultivated in the studies and sports of boyhood blazed into clearer and warmer glow at the bloody angle of Gettysburg or before the defenses of Port Hudson," said Mr. Greenhalge.

"I am aware that there are alleged to be defects in this system as regards both principle and method. Some of these defects I may be pardoned for mentioning, because Massachusetts should have not only the best schools in the country, but the best in the world, and every defect or alleged defect should be inquired into, and if discovered should be promptly corrected."

"It ought to be possible for the humblest child in Massachusetts in any part of the State, to obtain in the public schools the preparatory instruction necessary for admission to the best university or college in the country. It is for you to determine whether and how the State shall assume the responsibility of providing or requiring equal facilities in elementary or secondary schools in all parts of the Commonwealth. Again, has sufficient provision been made for manual training throughout the commonwealth? I may say further that there is complaint in some quarters that there are not normal teachers, especially for giving instruction in the arts of manual training. Our public schools, should in principles, methods, teachers, and equipment, be brought to the highest possible standard of efficiency."

Gov Greenhalge favored local option for the regulation and sale of liquor. While he discussed certain phases of the liquor traffic he made no specific recommendation for any new law.

He devoted considerable attention to prisons and the method of dealing with prisoners, remarking that

"The Governor and Council, the Prison Commission, the superintendent of prisons, and the warden, all have something of authority or control. There should be more unity, more consolidation in the government of the prison, less opportunity for friction and for conflict of jurisdiction, if good management and good results are to be obtained."

He recommended that

"Suitable legislation be enacted to prevent the watering of the stock of quasi-public corporations, either through the instrumentality of construction companies or otherwise, and also to prevent the issue of bonds as a bonus to parties who subscribe for stock; to confine the expenditures of these corporations as strictly as possible to the purposes for which they are organized, and to insure honesty in dealing both with the stockholders and with the public.

"And, further, all contracts for the lease, sale or purchase of railroads or street railways should be subject to the approval of the Railroad Commissioners.

"There seems to be no good reason why all quasi-public corporations should not come under a similar rule.

"I believe that the commissions of the commonwealth should be directly and immediately responsible to the governor and coun-

cil, to the extent of the right of supervision over them and right to require reports or statements at any reasonable time, with the power of removal of commissioners as now provided by law."

Gov Greenhalge heartily concurred in the recommendation made by his immediate predecessor for the abolition of Fast Day, and as a substitute therefor the observance by solemn and patriotic ceremonies of the 19th of April.

"It is vain to attempt," said he, "to maintain a custom which has become 'more honored in the breach than in the observance.'"

He recommended that the Legislature

"Consider the propriety of submitting to the voters of the several municipalities all legislative acts of a local character, such as acts to increase municipal indebtedness for special purposes, new city charters or amendments to existing charters, and, indeed, all matters of especial importance affecting seriously a city or town, which acts shall not become laws until approved by such municipalities."

In commending the expediency of the justice of extending to women the right of municipal suffrage, he said:

"The tendency of modern thought and modern civilization points strongly in the direction of this extension," and added, "The services of women in various public departments are now acknowledged to be of the greatest benefit and efficiency. Upon school boards and in the administration of our public charities there can be no doubt that a higher development and a rapid advance in methods of management and treatment have been accomplished; and, furthermore, the participation of woman in the sterner business of life in almost every line of occupation and work has been constantly increasing. Her performance of labors which tradition and convention have assigned to men would seem to indicate her capacity for sharing in the most important business of the individual and of the community, viz., the conduct of public affairs; and also to demonstrate the benefits derivable from such participation, and might seem to justify the further step of granting to her the right of municipal suffrage."

The Governor appointed as his secretary, Henry A. Thomas of Weymouth, who filled the position acceptably until he was named Postmaster of Boston by President McKinley. Mr. Thomas had spent his life in the postoffice department and was superintendent of mails at Boston in President Harrison's term. He had been an active Republican and was counted one of the best among the younger stump speakers. He died while serving as Postmaster. Gov Greenhalge named a military staff representative of his party.

Most of his military staff had been warm supporters of him during the gubernatorial campaign.

The Senate organized with William M. Butler of New Bedford President, and the House chose George von L. Meyer of Boston Speaker.

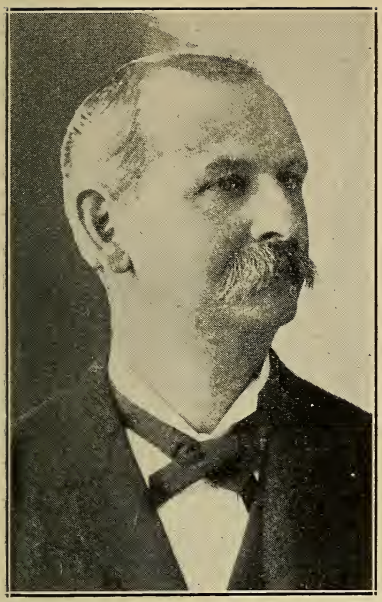
The Legislature was prorogued July 2. It was the longest session since 1883, except that of 1900, which lasted four hours longer. Gov Greenhalge signed 546 acts and 113 resolves. He had vetoed four acts and four more had become laws without his signature. It was the last session of the House held in the old part of the State House. The Governor's suggestion for municipal suffrage passed the House but was defeated in the Senate.

A law was enacted which prohibited saloons within 400 feet of a school house. Among the other important acts of this Legislature was the incorporation of the city of Beverly, another providing for the decennial taking of the census, authorizing cooking in the public schools, the investigation by the State board of statistics of the liquor traffic in relation to crime, pauperism and insanity, regulating fraternal beneficiary societies, prohibiting the marriage of any male under 18 and any female under 16, establishing the office of fire marshal, and regulating the use of bicycles in public streets.

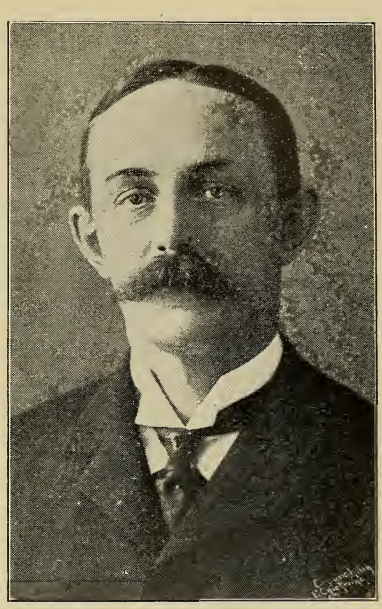
The Legislature also passed the bill abolishing Fast Day and making April 19th a legal holiday. The event was celebrated with ringing of bells and other popular demonstrations. The pen with which the Governor signed the measure was presented to the Lexington Historical Society. It was made from the plume of an American Eagle.

Another patriotic feature that same year was the return of several battle flags by the veterans of the 7th, 15th, 19th, 23rd, and 58th Massachusetts Volunteers. The ceremony took place at the State House. The formal presentation was made by Capt Jack Adams, the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Legislature. The history of each flag was told by James E. Seaver. Lieut Gov Wolcott received the flags on behalf of the Commonwealth and they were placed with the other mementos of the Civil War in the Hall of Flags at the State House.

Massachusetts that year paid in full the last of its war loans. They were redeemed in Boston and London, May 1. The English bondholders were paid through the Baring Bros.



Jesse M. Gove.



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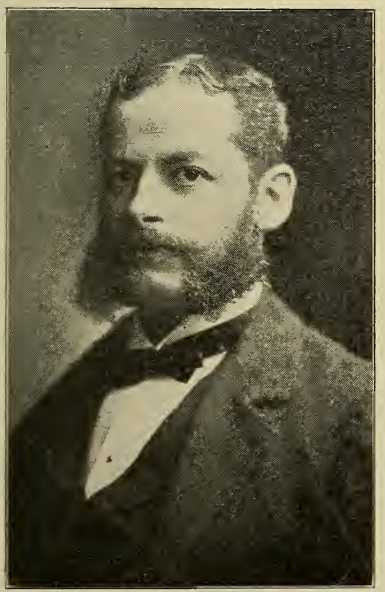
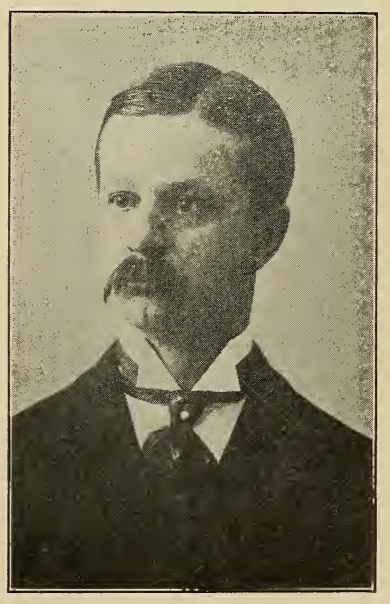


Albert S. Pinkerton.



George von L. Meyer

The loan was made when the State was assisting the national government in swelling the ranks of the Union Army and represented the monies paid out for bounties to volunteers. Of the sum due, the State's share was $2,279,000. Large as the amount was no citizen of Massachusetts begrudged it. The saving of the Union was worth every cent it cost and every life laid down for its preservation.

The Populist party met in Boston July 19 and nominated George H. Cary for Governor. The Prohibitionists met Sept. 13th, nominating Alfred W. Richardson. Oct. 6th the Republicans met and renominated their ticket of the year before, Greenhalge and Wolcott.

The Republican platform that year was written by Senator George F. Hoar. It consisted of 28 short, pithy paragraphs, several of which contained but two words. It was the last platform which the venerable senator was destined to write for his party, and he tells the story of how he came to prepare this unique political document in his interesting autobiography. He had put off the preparation of the platform until the last minute owing to a press of public business. He jotted down on a few sheets of paper a list of the topics about which he thought there should be a declaration in the platform. It occurred to him that it would be a relief and a commendable change in the style of platform making if he submitted his headings for the platform instead of the old-fashioned style of "viewing with alarm" Democratic policies and "pointing with pride" to the achievements of the Republicans.

The senator wrote afterwards that he did not believe there was ever a platform received in this country with such approval, certainly by men who listened to it, as this one.

It is well worth reproducing as an example of Senator Hoar's virile pen.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1894.

The principles of the Republicans of Massachusetts are as well known as the commonwealth itself; well known as the Republic; well known as Liberty; well known as Justice.

Chief among them are:

An equal share in government for every citizen.

Best possible wages for every workman.

The American market for American labor.

Every dollar paid by the government, both the gold and the silver dollars of the constitution and their paper representatives, honest and unchanging in value and equal to every other.

Better immigration laws.
Better naturalization laws.
No tramp, anarchist, criminal or pauper to be let in, so that citizenship shall not be stained or polluted.
Sympathy with liberty and republican government at home and abroad.
Americanism everywhere.
The flag never lowered or dishonored.
No surrender in Samoa.
No barbarous queen beheading men in Hawaii.
No lynching.
No punishment without trial.
Faith kept with the pensioner.
No deserving old soldier in the poor house.
The suppression of dram drinking and dram selling.
A school at the public charge open to all children, and free from partisan or sectarian control.
No distinction of birth or religious creed in the rights of American citizenship.
Devotion paramount and supreme, to the country and to the flag.
Clean politics.
Pure administration.
No lobby.
Reform of old abuses.
Leadership along loftier paths.
Minds ever open to new truth and new duty as the new years bring their lessons.

The phrase "No barbarous queen beheading men in Hawaii" was regretted afterwards by Senator Hoar, who discovered that the source of information on which the declaration was based was faulty, that Queen Liliuokalani to whom it referred was a good Christian woman and that there had been no beheading in the Sandwich Islands where the United States had intervened and restored the government. He took occasion more than once to express in the Senate his respect for her and his regret for the injustice he had done her.

Two days later, Oct. 8th, the Democrats held their convention in Boston and named John E. Russell of Leicester for Governor and Charles E. Stratton of Boston for Lieutenant Governor.

The Democratic platform reaffirmed the demand for tariff reform, endorsed the Wilson bill, and reiterated its position in favor of free raw materials, approved the principle of the income tax, favored the extension of the national civil service law and roundly denounced the A. P. A. movement by declaring against distinction of birth or religion in the rights of American citizenship. It also favored proportional representation.

The Socialist Labor ticket that year was headed by David Taylor. The vote for Governor was: Greenhalge, Republican, 189,307; Russell, Democrat, 123,930; Richardson, 9905; Cary, 9307.

The A. P. A. element made a special mark of Lieutenant Governor Wolcott and the result was that his vote was considerably below that of the head of the ticket.

The Democrats elected but one member of congress that year, John F. Fitzgerald in the 9th district. The State Senate elected in this campaign was: Republicans, 36; Democrats, 4. The House of Representatives stood, Republicans 191, Democrats 48, Socialist 1.

CHAPTER VII.

GREENHALGE'S SECOND AND THIRD TERMS AS GOVERNOR—HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES MET IN NEW CHAMBER—RECOVERY FROM BUSINESS DEPRESSION—REPUBLICANS' STRENGTH GROWING—HIS DEATH—DEFEAT OF EDWARD A. McLAUGHLIN, CLERK OF THE HOUSE—DEATH OF EX-GOV. ROBINSON.

WHEN Governor Greenhalge delivered his second inaugural address to both branches of the Legislature, Jan. 3, 1895, in the new chamber of the House of Representatives, the political trend was towards the Republicans. The pendulum was swinging their way. The entire country was gradually recovering from the business depression. The Republicans had elected a majority of the National House and they once more controlled the Senate of the United States. They had made practically a clean sweep of Massachusetts and the vote for the Democratic candidate for Governor had dwindled to 123,000. The Republican majorities in both branches of the Legislature were very large. That hardy legislative perennial—taxation—was referred to by the Governor in his inaugural, remarking:

"It is alleged that many inequalities and defects are to be found in the system of taxation as it now exists in this commonwealth. To tax and to please is a consummation never yet vouchsafed to men; yet to establish a system of taxation in which shall be represented the maximum of justice and equality with the minimum of partiality and oppression is a legitimate and national object of legislative ambition; and I trust that the matter may receive at your hands the just consideration which its importance demands."

Referring briefly to temperance, His Excellency observed:

"Energetic action under existing laws may produce quite as satisfactory gains as feverish efforts to secure new legislation."

The subject of State commissions and boards was dismissed with the renewal of the recommendation that the office of Commissioner of Foreign Mortgage Corporations should be abolished, and the work of that office placed under the control of the Commissioner of Corporations. "Unity in the

principle of administration, simplicity of system, are to be preferred to the loose, slovenly method of creating an executive board or office which seems to be an unconnected and unrelated part of the body politic," said the Governor.

He then reviewed the work under prosecution by most of the important State commissions. He specially commended the work of the Boston and Fall River police boards, the members of which were both appointed by the Governor instead of the mayors of the cities.

He sounded a warning regarding the growth of epilepsy in the State and asked that provision be made for special treatment for these unfortunates.

"It will be well to consider whether more stringent legislation is not needed to check the brutality of the prize fight and the sparring bout," said he.

"I hold to the views expressed in the message of last year as to the extension of municipal suffrage to women.

"I think, too, that the time is ripe for a thorough and decisive consideration of the great question of inaugurating biennial elections in this commonwealth."

Reviewing the results of a number of his recommendations the year before, the Governor said:

"The qualifications of voters as to reading and writing to be determined by a uniform test was one of these, and the result appears to be satisfactory.

"The registration of practitioners in medicine was another, which has also been attended by excellent results.

"Another judge was recommended for the municipal court of Boston,—a recommendation adopted and acted on to the great relief of the business of the court and the general benefit of the public.

"The establishment of April the nineteenth as a legal holiday under the name of Patriot's Day appeared to touch a responsive chord in the hearts of the people, as was evidenced by the first celebration of the day in Concord and Lexington last year."

Special legislation was to be discouraged on all accounts. He then referred to the first use of the new hall of Representatives by the Legislature of 1895 located in the new wing of the State House which is regarded as one of the finest assembly chambers in the country.

"May the great memories and associations which cluster around the venerable building which you have left be only the forerunners of the patriotic labors and achievements to be done and performed here by you and your successors, and which shall consecrate and endear this grand structure to the hearts of the people to the latest generation," said he.

"May the true voice of the people always be heard in these halls; may the people inspire their representatives, and may their representatives in turn inspire the people; may this building, as long as one stone rests upon another, be the temple of constitutional liberty; here let the tongue of the demagogue cleave to the roof of his mouth, let the right hand of the anarchist forget its cunning; let these walls echo only with the loftiest hopes and grandest purposes of freemen; may here forever be found the clear and incorruptible source of the wise, just and equal legislation of an intelligent, liberal-minded, high-souled people, ever true to the purpose of the fathers, directing all their efforts 'to the end that this may be a government of laws and not of men.'"

The legislative session of 1895 began on Jan. 3. Both of the presiding officers in the legislative branches of the year before were reelected. The term of Senator Hoar expired March 3 of the same year, and he was reelected. The Democrats voted for John E. Russell of Leicester.

The Legislature remained in session until June 5, during which Gov Greenhalge signed 504 acts and 127 resolves. He allowed two to become law without his signature. One of the most important acts of the year was the creation of the Metropolitan Water Board for providing an ample water supply for Greater Boston. The State was authorized to issue bonds to the amount of $27,000,000.

Important changes were made in the charter of the city of Boston. The term of the mayor was made two years instead of one year. Instead of three-headed commissions for the fire, water and institutions departments, they were made single headed commissions with a view of securing better administration of city affairs. The old registrars of voters board was changed to the Ballot Law Commission, consisting of four commissioners, two Democrats and two Republicans. The office of city surveyor and city architect were abolished and the work transferred to other city departments.

The establishment of textile schools was authorized and provided for. North Adams was incorporated as a city. The sale of intoxicating liquors on Feb. 22 and July 4 was prohibited. Further regulation of the Sabbath was also passed this year, prohibiting entertainments except those for charitable purposes on the Lord's Day. Another act gave preference to veterans for employment in the public service. Biennial elections were proposed and passed along to the next General Court. $150,000 was appropriated for the continuance of the work of exterminating the gypsy moth.

The demands of the textile operators for less hours and more pay and the claims of the manufacturers that Massachusetts industries would be unable to compete with those of the South where wages were lower, living costs less and wages smaller, led to the an order being passed, permitting the committee on Mercantile Affairs to visit the Southern mill centers, where they had a chance to see for themselves the conditions, but the State has gone on lowering the hours of labor and surrounding the operatives with more and more safeguards and compelling mill owners to provide many conveniences for their operatives. The mills are still here and appear to be prospering.

A commission charged with the investigation of the unemployed reported its findings to the Legislature. The hard times had thrown many out of work and the commission made an exhaustive investigation of conditions among the unfortunate people. The commission found that most of the trouble resulted from the influx of a large number of unemployed from other sections of the country and recommended that so far as possible only residents of the state be employed on public works.

The Democrats that year nominated for Governor George Fred Williams of Dedham and James S. Grinnell of Greenfield for Lieutenant Governor. The latter was an old time Democrat and a brother-in-law of John E. Russell. The platform commending President Cleveland's administration, congratulated the manufacturers of the State on the successful operation of the Wilson tariff, and denounced the Republicans for trying to reopen the tariff question. It was strong for the gold standard and declared that the government should not engage in the banking business. It again declared for home rule for cities and roundly denounced the Republicans for their efforts to centralize the police power of cities in the Governor. of the state.

The Republicans held their convention in Boston Oct. 5, three days afterwards. Congressman Elijah A. Morse, of Canton, "Rising Sun" as he was called by the politicians, because he manufactured the Rising Sun stove polish, opposed Gov Greenhalge for the nomination for Governor. It was generally understood that the A. P. A. element in the party supported him, but when the convention was held the vote for Greenhalge was overwhelming—Greenhalge, 1363,

Morse 391. Lieut Gov Wolcott was renominated without opposition.

The platform condemned the Democratic tariff. It was for the gold standard of money and opposed the free coinage of silver at any ratio not established by international agreement. The national administration was criticised for its bond issue through private bankers. It declared for the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine, civil service reform, restricted immigration and contained the usual catch phrase on the liquor question.

There were also tickets in the field of the Populist, Prohibition and Socialist-Labor parties. Election was Nov. 5, the vote being: Greenhalge, Republican, 186,280; Williams, Democrat, 121,599; Kendall, Prohibitionist, 9170; Brown, Populist, 776; Ratherm, Socialist-Labor, 3249.

Municipal suffrage for women was defeated on a referendum by a big vote.

On New Year's Day, 1896, Gov Greenhalge took the oath of office as chief executive of Massachusetts for the third time and addressed the members of the Legislature and a distinguished company of politicians. Federal, state and city officials who made up the assembly gathered to hear what the Governor had to say on important public questions. Always interesting and instructive in his public utterances and possessing to a remarkable degree the faculty of clothing his thought in language that delighted the ear and touched the heart, it was remarked by his close friends that they had never seen him in better form than he was on that occasion.

He wasted no words in the opening and hurriedly but faithfully sketched the great enterprises then in progress under the supervision of the State authorities, including the metropolitan water supply system, metropolitan sewerage, metropolitan park system, metropolitan or Greater Boston, the subway, the public docks project, the improvement of the harbor and the construction of State highways.

Additional rapid transit legislation for Boston, the State institutions, the extermination of the gypsy moth, tuberculosis in cattle, the militia, district police, savings banks, trust companies, corporations and their relations to the public, civil service, the financial condition of the Commonwealth, education and the public schools, taxation, temperance, street railways, were all referred to and discussed with simplicity and

directness showing a comprehensive grasp of their relation to the people.

He renewed his former suggestion regarding some change in the granting of liquor licenses, saying:

"If the always vexatious question of liquor licenses could be placed upon some impersonal and non-partisan basis, a great advance might be made, consistent with and supported by public opinion. If every applicant could be graded or rated in such a way as to give weight to character, to previous history or record, to location and similar features, the struggle for licenses might be relieved from some of its more objectionable features. In fact, though a succession of civil service rules in such cases might seem ironical, some system which would eliminate political and pernicious influences is to be desired.'

Under the head of citizenship, suffrage, etc., he set out three propositions for improving the quality of citizenship:

"Greater care should be exercised in the administration of naturalization laws, so far as our State courts are concerned.

"A probationary period of residence after naturalization might be prescribed by constitutional amendment. The twenty-third amendment was such a constitutional provision; this was repealed as unnecessary and oppressive; but existing circumstances may seem to justify at least a shorter term of probation.

"While there may be a division of opinion as to disfranchising for felony, as is done in some states, it seems clear that persons undergoing sentence in penal institutions should not be permitted to vote."

Because of the decisive vote against woman suffrage at the last state election he concluded that public opinion would not for some time accept such a radical change in the established system of suffrage, but he remarked that

"The public mind appears to be growing more and more in favor of biennial elections, and there is no good reason why the question should not be submitted to the people."

Towards the end of his address he took occasion to remind the Legislature of the dangers of corruption creeping in and of the baneful influence of the lobby, which had once more become active if not defiant of the law enacted to curb its activities at the State House, saying:

"The purity and character of a legislature rest largely with the legislature itelf, and ultimately,—or rather primarily—with the people. All laws based upon a reckless assumption of the inherent baseness of legislatures are as likely to aggravate as to remedy real evils, which are, I trust at present, small rather than great. The

character of the Legislature of Massachusetts should be as high as the character of Massachusetts; it is in fact, the character of Massachusetts. Yet every safeguard, every precaution, every danger signal, must be used to warn, to admonish, to deter the weakest—or the meanest—mind which could possibly entertain the thought of prostituting the high public trust reposed in a legislator to selfish or sordid ends.

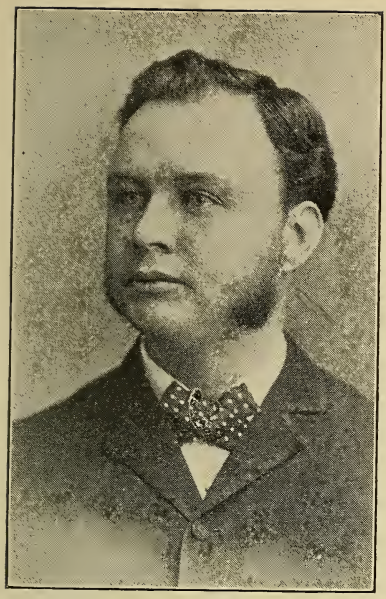
"Stringent legislation, calculated to emphasize to the legislator the necessity of being above suspicion, and warn the lobbyist of the peril he runs in even approaching the legislator with corrupt proposals will serve to prevent those vague rumors which from time to time disturb the public mind without crystalizing into specific cases. Such legislation would prevent rather than recognize the alleged abuses of the lobby."

The influence of the A. P. A. in the ranks of the Republican Legislature was strong enough this year to defeat Edward A. McLaughlin, a Democrat, for election as clerk of the House of Representatives.

The movement to displace Clerk McLaughlin, who had served every legislature since 1883, when he succeeded George A. Marden, of Lowell, a Republican, whose assistant he had been, was regretted by many of the leading Republicans of the State, but the A. P. A.'s grip on the legislators was tight and they compelled the delivery of enough votes to turn out a clerk, whose qualifications for the position, high character and absolute nonpartisanship in his office was acknowledged by thousands of men who had served in the House in the 22 years he had held the office. His successor was George T. Sleeper, whose chief qualification for the position was membership in this un-American organization. He only lasted one term. The House was fortunate in having at its command the services of James W. Kimball, who had been Mr. McLaughlin's chief assistant for many years. Most of the labor of the office of clerk fell to him after the change and the next House eagerly embraced the opportunity of dropping Sleeper and substituting Kimball, who has served that body ever since with fidelity and conspicuous ability.

George P. Lawrence of North Adams succeeded William M. Butler as president of the Senate and Speaker von L. Meyer was reelectd by thee popular branch of the Legislature.

On Feb. 22 ex-Gov George D. Robinson died. Mr. Robinson defeated Gen Butler for governor in 1883 and served three terms as chief executive of the Commonwealth. He was practically drafted for the nomination and he proved to be a clever campaigner. He had been a member of both



Edward A. McLaughlin

James W. Kimball.

George P. Lawrence.

William M. Butler.

branches of the Legislature and was serving his fourth term as Congressman when he was nominated for Governor. At the expiration of his third term as Governor he devoted all of his time and energy to the practice of law in Springfield and Chicopee. The Legislature took appropriate action, naming a committee to attend his funeral and setting aside a day for his eulogy.

Within a fortnight the State was shocked to hear of the death of its popular Governor, Frederick T. Greenhalge, who expired at his home in Lowell, March 5, after a brief illness. He was the only Governor of Massachusetts of foreign birth, since Thomas Gage, 120 years before. Gov Gage, as will be remembered, was the British governor of the rebellious colony in the revolutionary time and left town rather hurriedly. His leave-taking was somewhat unceremonious.

The sudden death of Gov Greenhalge plunged the entire State into mourning. All classes, creeds and races sincerely regretted his untimely taking off. Lieut Gov Roger Wolcott was sworn in and carried on the public policies of his departed chief.

Several important laws were enacted by this Legislature, perhaps the most important being the act authorizing the building of the South Station, Atlantic Avenue and Summer street, whereby the Boston & Providence, Boston & Albany, Old Colony and New York & New England Railroads were brought together under the roof of one terminal. Prior to the building of the South Station each road maintained separate terminals in different sections of the city except the Boston and Albany and the Old Colony roads, which were located on Kneeland street.

The proposition for a Greater Boston was referred to the next General Court and while the subject was for years afterwards discussed nothing ever came of the suggestion, the suburban cities and towns fearing that they would lose their identity. Their leading politicians also felt that in such a plan they would also lose their influence and have never given the scheme any real support.

That year a leading colored Bishop of the South visited Boston and was refused accommodation at one of the prominent hotels. Naturally, the colored people felt aggrieved and the politicians, always ready to sympathize with a large body

of voters and champion their cause, put through a resolution condemning discrimination on account of color.

Congressional regulation of the hours of labor and making them uniform was favored in a resolve. Provision was made for the erection of a suitable tablet on the battle field of Antietam commemorating the services of Massachusetts troops engaged in that important battle. The collection and circulation of information regarding the abandoned farms of the State was provided for, the splendid equestrian statue of Gen Joseph Hooker in front of the East Wing of the State House was authorized. $100,000 more was appropriated for the extirpation of the gypsy moth.

With the National and State conventions on that Summer and Fall the politicians were kept on the jump. The Republicans presented a united front, but the Democrats split on the money issue. The Silver wing of the Democracy nominated George Fred Williams for Governor and refused to allow the Gold wing of the party into the convention. The latter, headed by most of the leading men of the party marched to Faneuil Hall and nominated Frederick O. Prince for Governor. The campaign was one of the most spirited in years. The Democrats were badly beaten, Gov Wolcott's plurality rising above 150,000. Only one Democrat was elected to Congress, John F. Fitzgerald. On a joint ballot the Legislature stood: Republicans 232, Democrats 44; Independent Republicans 3, Citizen Democrats 1. The constitutional amendments submitted were defeated.

CHAPTER VIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1896 — ONE OF THE MOST EXCITING POLITICAL CONTESTS IN YEARS—DEMOCRATS SPLIT ON THE MONEY ISSUE.

THE campaign of 1896 was memorable in many ways. The Democrats split on the money question. The Bryan, or Silver wing of the party in this State, was led by George Fred Williams of Dedham. The Gold wing, or Palmer and Buckner faction, nominated Frederick O. Prince for Governor. Mr. Prince had been secretary of the Democratic National Committee for 25 years, was one of the best known Democrats in the State, and had a wide acquaintance with the leading Democrats of the nation. He had been Mayor of Boston, was beloved by his party associates and highly respected by the Republicans. He was a man of excellent standing in the legal profession. He was a "sound money" man and refused to accept the Bryan, 16 to 1 free silver theory. He regarded that doctrine undemocratic, if not dishonest, and declined to support the nominee of the Chicago convention.

Somebody has said that every Democrat with a check book left the party that year and either openly espoused McKinley, the Republican presidential nominee or voted for the Gold Bug ticket, Palmer and Buckner. Of course there was an exception here and there. Practically every prominent and influential Democrat in this State was against free silver.

Mr. Williams' conversion to free silver was somewhat sudden. In the Spring of that year he had been elected one of four delegates-at-large to the Democratic national convention which met in Chicago the following July. His associates were Gen John W. Corcoran of Clinton, John E. Russell of Leicester and James Donovan of Boston. The convention which elected these delegates-at-large declared unreservedly for the gold standard and endorsed ex-Gov Russell as Massachusetts' choice for President. A few weeks later it was whispered that Mr. Williams, who in the 52nd congress had ably championed the gold standard and condemned the effort to rehabili-

tate silver, was coquetting with the white metal men who were getting ready to control the national Democratic convention. There appeared in the afternoon edition of the Boston Globe one day shortly before the assembling of the national convention an interview in which Mr. Williams announced his conversion to free silver. The interview caused a lot of talk and was widely copied. It was hard to make people believe that George Fred Williams had renounced the gold standard and had declared for free silver, but he promptly confirmed the statement of his change of attitude.

His sudden conversion meant that he must repudiate the platform on which he was chosen, cast his lot with new friends and fight those with whom he had waged shoulder to shoulder many a hard political contest in this State.

To say that Mr. Williams' political friends in Massachusetts were surprised at his change of front on the money question is putting it mildly. They were amazed. Mr. Williams had but few supporters in his flop to silver in the Massachusetts delegation and the Bay State delegation that year presented the spectacle of a divided house before the convention. It was said that if he had been able to muster any considerable following from New England at the convention he would have been the vice-presidential nominee instead of Arthur Sewell of Maine, an old time Democrat and ship builder of Bath.

As it was, Mr. Williams received 76 votes for that office on the first ballot, which dwindled to nine on the fifth when Mr. Sewell was nominated.

When Williams came out for free silver, the gold Democrats of the State, aroused and incensed at his action, prevailed upon ex-Gov William E. Russell to go to Chicago and join in the movement among prominent Democrats of the country, headed by William C. Whitney and David B. Hill of New York to prevent the adoption of a 16 to 1 silver plank in the platform. President Cleveland and his cabinet were practically a unit against free silver. The contest at Chicago between the two wings of the Democracy was waged with considerable bitterness.

Ex-Gov Russell was not a delegate to the convention, but a delegate from his home city, Cambridge, offered him his credential, which he accepted. Gov Russell made one of the closing speeches against the 16 to 1 plank. His right to

participate in the proceedings of the convention was questioned by Williams from the floor, but the Dedham man's objections were not sustained. This affront to Russell by Williams was not soon forgotten by the former's friends. The radicals were in the saddle at Chicago and all opposition to their program was ruthlessly swept aside as they pushed through their platform and in their mad onslaught on Clevelandism and Wall Street influence in the party nominated William Jennings Bryan, "The Boy Orator of the Platte," for President. A few minutes before, Mr. Bryan of Nebraska, who had gone to the convention in his capacity as a reporter for an Omaha paper, had made his famous "Crown of Thorn and Cross of Gold" speech in advocating the 16 to 1 plank in the platform, took the delegates off their feet by his fervid oratory and carried off the nomination for the presidency.

The bewildering triumph of the Silver men aroused the entire country. Quite a number of prominent Republicans representing Western states where silver was produced in large quantities bolted their party ticket and joined the Bryan movement, but for every Free Silver Republican who joined the Democracy several Gold Democrats left their party.

The Gold Democrats left Chicago disheartened at the outcome of the convention. Among these were William E. Russell of this State. Worn out by his hard work and long hours as one of the leaders in the battle against free silver at the convention, the brilliant ex-Governor came home, retired for a brief rest at his summer home and then went to the camp of an old friend and political supporter, Benjamin F. Dutton, a prominent Boston merchant, where he hoped to recuperate and mend his shattered nerves. He had hardly bade his friends good-bye when the news of his sudden death was received and cast a gloom over every city and town in the state.

Gov Russell died July 16, 1896, cut off in the flower of his young manhood at the age of 39. He was buried in Mt. Auburn cemetery in the city of his birth. His obsequies were attended by representatives of all classes, creeds and races. President Cleveland was present at the funeral. Mr. Russell had begun to establish himself in the law as one of the ablest men of his profession and had he lived there is little doubt that he would have continued a prominent national figure in the political affairs of the country and his profession.

Several of his successors in the governorship have adopted most, if not all, of his views on State commissions and the necessity for more power in the matter of removals from office of State officials in order to secure the best results in administering the affairs of the Commonwealth. The last Governor chosen, Samuel W. McCall, followed Gov Russell's recommendations closely regarding the growth of State commissions and the necessity of bringing them within the sphere of executive control.

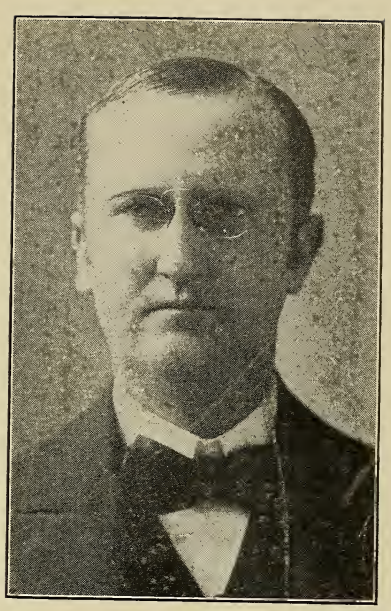
Bryan's nomination excited great interest in all parts of the country. He was a new figure in national politics. People flocked to see and hear him. Soon after his nomination he came to New England to visit his associate on the ticket, Arthur Sewell of Maine. Boston gave him a noisy welcome. 100,000 heard him or tried to hear him on the Common where he spoke in the evening, but when the votes were counted at the November election, McKinley carried Democratic Boston by 18,000 plurality.

It is safe to say that no man in years who had been nominated by the Democrats for the Presidency was followed so closely by the big newspapers of the country. The business and financial interests were aroused. The papers watched every movement of Bryan and caught every word that fell from his lips. Only one big newspaper in the East supported him. Democratic papers either openly opposed him or took to the woods of the Fourth Estate. New England did not take kindly to Mr. Bryan, his free silver ideas or his castigation of the Supreme Court for its alleged leaning towards the "vested interests."

Against all the odds which Mr. Bryan had to contend he rolled up a popular vote that year of 6,502,925 against 7,184,179 for McKinley. The electoral vote was: McKinley, 271; Bryan, 176.

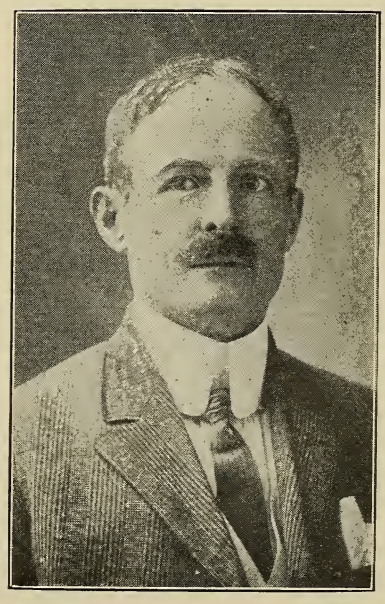
But to return to the events which intervened between the Chicago convention and the November election in this State. On his arrival home from Chicago Williams' friends welcomed him with a brass band and a meeting at Faneuil Hall where he rendered an account of his stewardship and defended his course as a delegate. Williams' friends began to organize. The "Gold Bugs", as the honest money men were called, were not idle. They too were organizing and preparing for the battle at the polls. The campaign in this

William S. McNary.



Christopher T. Callahan.

Dana Malone.



John W. Coughlin.

State was spirited enough on the Democratic side to suit those who liked plenty of tobasco in their politics.

The Republicans, however, had little to do but watch the Democratic fight. Very few Republicans were attracted to the Bryan-Sewell-Williams banner in this State. When the time arrived to nominate State tickets the Silver Democrats thought they saw in the movement of the Gold wing of the party a plan to control the State convention, repudiate the Chicago convention and nominate a candidate for Governor opposed to Bryan.

On the evening of Sept. 25 there was a public meeting in Music Hall in behalf of the Democratic National ticket and for the purpose of arousing interest among the voters in the State ticket which was to be nominated the following day at the State convention. Just as the meeting was about to adjourn Mr. Williams stepped forward and declared that there was a plot on the part of the Gold men in the party to shut out the Bryan-Williams men at the convention, and in this way control the proceedings. He asked all his followers to remain in the hall that night and hold it against their opponents. Plenty of volunteers were found and when the officers of the old State Committee appeared at the hall at eleven o'clock in the morning they found the old edifice in control of the radical wing of the party. All efforts to compromise matters and for a harmonious convention failed. The Williams men held their convention in Music Hall while the State Committee and their friends gathered at Faneuil Hall. Both conventions nominated the same State ticket headed by George Fred Williams for Governor and Christopher T. Callahan, now a judge of the Superior Court, for Lieutenant Governor. Most of the members of the State Committee desired to retain control of the State organization. Sixteen members of the committee left the Faneuil Hall convention when the anti-Williams men endorsed Bryan and nominated Williams.

Mr. Williams declined the Faneuil Hall nomination knowing that few of those who participated in that Convention intended to support him loyally at the polls. As already stated the out and out Gold men of the party nominated Frederick O. Prince for Governor and conducted a vigorous and active campaign for their nominees for President and Governor. The Bryan-Sewell-Williams campaign was conducted in head-

quarters outside of the regular State Committee rooms. The venerable Citizen Hobart of Braintree, who had been for many years a unique character in the Republican party, but had joined the Democracy shortly before the nomination at Chicago, was in charge of the speaker's bureau, while Christopher T. Callahan directed the active management of the campaign under the immediate and personal supervision of Mr. Williams.

The People's Party, of which E. Gerry Brown of Brockton was chairman of the State Committee, endorsed the nomination of Mr. Williams that year. In order to guard against the machinations of his political opponents that year Mr. Williams saw to it that he was nominated for Governor on nomination papers. His name appeared three times on the official ballot at the polls, first as a Democratic, second as Peoples Party nominee and third as Democratic-Bryan on the nomination papers. Mr. Williams covered the State quite thoroughly that year in his speech-making tour, but the result was inevitable. The split in the party was serious and the vote for the State ticket was the smallest in years.

Mr. Williams was now firmly seated in the party saddle and for several years following he proceeded to ride roughshod over his opponents. He was the candidate for Governor again the following year, but many Democrats still refused to follow him and it was not until his retirement as a candidate that the party began to recover some of its lost strength. Mr. Williams continued to champion Bryanism for 16 years until the Baltimore convention in 1912, when a serious break in the political relations between Mr. Bryan and his chief lieutenant in Massachusetts took place. Mr. Bryan favored and worked for the nomination of Woodrow Wilson at Baltimore as hard as he ever worked for his own nomination. Mr. Williams championed the candidacy of Champ Clark. During the primary contests and convention preliminaries Mr. Williams openly denounced the attitude Mr. Wilson took in his "History of the American People," towards immigrants and was unable to agree with Mr. Wilson in the latter's views on various economic and political questions. Mr. Williams set forth that he believed the nomination of Mr. Wilson would be an affront to a large element of voters and disastrous to the party. After a trip abroad, however, consultation with his close political friends and a visit to Colonel Roosevelt at

the latter's home, Oyster Bay, he again surprised many by his support of Wilson. He confined his speaking to the Western States and took no part in the local campaign. Whatever differences there were caused by the disagreement between Mr. Williams and Mr. Bryan over the latter's course at Baltimore, was apparently healed by the extension of the olive branch by the national administration which tendered Mr. Williams, through Mr. Bryan, then Secretary of State, the office of United States Minister to Greece and Montenegro, which Mr. Williams accepted.

That office he held for a short time only, resigning because he found that his duties as a diplomatist and his interest in the liberation of Albania which he desired to assist in throwing off a despotic foreign yoke conflicted. It was his intention to remain in the Mediterranean and do what he could to help this struggling people in achieving some sort of independent self-government, but owing to various causes and the outbreak of the European War, Mr. Williams was obliged to give up his plans and return home. Since his return Mr. Williams has taken no active part in politics. He was succeeded as Minister to Greece and Montenegro by another Massachusetts man, Professor Garrett Droppers, of Williams College.

The Delegates-at-Large to the Republican National Convention this year were Senator Lodge, Lieut Gov Crane, Eben S. Draper and Curtis Guild Jr. Massachusetts went to St. Louis for Thomas B. Reed of Maine, but the cards were stacked by Mark Hanna for the Ohioan and William McKinley was nominated on the first ballot. Twenty-nine of the thirty Massachusetts delegates voted for Reed. When the roll of the convention was called on the nomination of candidates and the State of Maine was reached Senator Lodge of Massachusetts arose and nominated Speaker Reed in a short but eloquent speech, saying:

"In the House and before the people he has always been the brilliant champion of the great Republican policies which, adopted, have made us prosperous, and abandoned have left ruin at our doors. He is a thorough American by birth, by descent, by breeding, one who loves his country and has served it in his youth and manhood in war and peace. His public career is as spotless as his private life. He is a trained statesman, fit for the heaviest task that can be imposed on him. He has the confidence of his party and his country. He is a leader. We know it, for we have seen him lead. To his followers he never said go but come.

He is entirely fearless. We know it because we have seen his courage tested on a hundred fields. He is fit to stand at the head of the Republican columns. He is worthy to be an American president."

Mr. Littlefield of Maine seconded the nomination in an elaborate speech. But it was all over except the shouting. A new political manager—a business man using business methods had it all fixed for Major McKinley. At the proper time Senator Lodge withdrew the name of Mr. Reed and moved to make the nomination of McKinley unanimous, pledging the nominee the support of a great majority of the State for his election.

It was claimed at the time that Mr. Reed was not satisfied with the loyalty of some of his friends in the contest. Whatever may have been the cause of his poor showing at the national convention he could not find fault with the loyalty of the Massachusetts delegation or the eloquent and able speech by Senator Lodge nominating him as a candidate for the honor of leading the Republicans.

When it came to nominating a Vice-President the Massachusetts delegation split voting on the first ballot as follows: Hobart, 14 votes; Evans, 12 votes; Bulkley, 4 votes. Garrett A. Hobart of New Jersey was the choice of the convention for second place on the presidential ticket.

Mr. Lodge was a member of the sub-committee which drafted the resolutions and he took a leading part in framing the platform and making the money plank strong and unequivocal for the gold standard.

When Major McKinley came to selecting his cabinet after election he named as secretary of the Navy ex-Gov John D. Long of Massachusetts. Mr Long had served in congress with McKinley and there was a warm bond of friendship existing between them. At first some of the political leaders were inclined to object, but they found that Mr. McKinley was determined to appoint his old congressional colleague and local opposition was withdrawn. Gov Long's appointment was regarded by many as an incongruous selection because for many years he had been prominent in the Peace Society which abhors war, but he accepted and for four years directed the affairs of the Navy Department with signal ability and discretion, bringing the department up to a high standard of efficiency. It seemed strange to many for a

peace man to be directing the navy in a foreign war, but Secretary Long put his peace scruples aside and entered into the administration of the department with great enthusiasm.

He had for his assistant Theodore Roosevelt of New York, who was on the threshold of his interesting public career. It was Secretary Long who selected George Dewey for command of the fleet in Asiatic waters who was destined to shed new lustre on the fame of the American navy as a fighting force by his brilliant victory in Manila Bay destroying the Spanish fleet and silencing the forts which led to the capturing of the Philippine Islands.

Gov Long was succeeded as Secretary of the Navy by Congressman William H. Moody, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, when Roosevelt reorganized the old McKinley cabinet

The Democratic split this year continued for some years afterwards and it was not until the campaign of 1904 that the party got back on its feet once more in Massachusetts when Alton B. Parker of New York was candidate for President.

CHAPTER IX.

WOLCOTT'S THREE TERMS—DIGNITY OF MAN AND HIS ADMIN ISTRATION—RE-ELECTION OF SENATOR LODGE—RETURN OF BRADFORD MANUSCRIPT THROUGH EFFORTS OF SENATOR HOAR—RECORD TIME ON LEGISLATION ON DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST SPAIN.

ROGER Wolcott was without question the most dignified Chief Executive the State had had for generations. It was not a false dignity. He came of the finest old Yankee stock. His ancestors were men of standing in public affairs and among the great merchants and business men of Boston. A man of wealth and education, he did not neglect his public duties. He had served in the Common Council of Boston and in the Legislature. He was not too proud to fight in the ranks of his party in municipal or State campaigns. He stood for clean politics and never hesitated to condemn wrongdoing, even though he hurt the feelings of his own political associates.

In personal appearance he was tall and commanding. He was always gracious without being obsequious to his equals, kind and considerate to those outside of his own social or political circles, willing to accord a political opponent the same honesty he displayed himself in his political convictions. He held some independent views on public questions and he seldom hesitated to express them if he believed the occasion required. He was not an office seeker, but he did not decline party honors when they came to him and he always gave to his public duties his best thought and characteristic energy.

When he was Lieutenant Governor during Governor Russell's last term, he treated His Excellency with the greatest respect and his party associates were never able to count on him to lend a hand to anything mean or low in the game of politics in their plans to thwart the administration of the Governor. Such in brief was the manner of man the Republican nominated for Lieutenant Governor in 1893, and the man who succeeded Frederick T. Greenhalge as Governor, filling out the latter's unexpired term.

Governor Wolcott.

Gov Wolcott's first inaugural address was delivered to the Legislature and the public Jan. 7, 1897. In opening he feelingly referred to the death of his predecessors, ex-Governor Robinson and ex-Governor Russell—both well beloved sons of the old Commonwealth.

Speaking of the recent business depression and the result of the election he declared that the public had

"Reason to believe that the long period of business depression and loss to employer and employed will be soon ended, and that a season of renewed confidence and consequent prosperity is at hand."

And, he added:

"During these years employment has been precarious and the profits of capital uncertain. Our people have endured the strain with courage and patience; they have deserved the reward which will follow a revival of industrial activity. Owing to the unprecedented conditions of the recent elections, it was not surprising to find the vastly preponderating majority of the citizens of this state ranged upon the side of sound finance and national honor.

"When these were threatened, men of all parties were found fighting shoulder to shoulder to make secure in national affairs what had been the traditional policies of this Commonwealth. The victory won should confirm our confidence in popular government, and furnishes new evidence that our people have the intelligence rightly to discriminate and the will rightly to decide."

He felt obliged to caution the Legislature about State expenses and the constantly growing public debt. He discussed and urged the necessity of improving Boston harbor, remarking that

"Commerce easily leaves a port where it is subjected to perils, inconveniences or exactions."

The needs of the Metropolitan district were also discussed and he briefly outlined the work of the Metropolitan Water Board relating to the water supply. The activities of the Metropolitan Park Commission were pointed out. Suggestions were made for improvements in the management for several State institutions. He commended the law for the improvements of the teaching force in the public schools and in the supervision of education, and said:

"The vast sums of money annually expended upon our public schools—the amount was $11,829,191 the past year—as well as the noble purposes sought through such expenditures, justify extraordinary pains in bringing the schools under wise and constant directorship, and in securing for them the best teachers, whose

zeal and freshness of interest and method should be stimulated in every possible way."

He praised the work of the nautical training school, which offers a limited number of young men a thorough technical education in seamanship and navigation, as well as in the ordinary branches of study.

Speaking of taxation—seldom neglected by inaugurals—Gov Wolcott said that the Legislature of 1896 wisely provided for the appointment of a commission

"To obtain, collate and report facts concerning taxation, present a summary of conclusions to be drawn therefrom, and suggest any changes advisable in the laws of the Commonwealth relating to taxation,"

the final report of the commission to be presented not later than the first day of October, 1897.

"In making the appointments upon this commission," said he, "I endeavored to select men who should fairly represent different interests and occupations in the community, but who were not to my knowledge publicly committed as advocates either of the present system or of any substitute therefor, believing that these should be rather heard as witnesses by the commission than themselves constitute the commission. If this commission should succeed in making such wise and just recommendations as shall result in rendering taxation in Massachusetts more equitable and less onerous, it will be a service of great value to the Commonwealth."

Attention was called to the growing demand for a franchise tax on street railways and he recommended that such a law be passed. Speaking of the progress of the rapid transit plan for Boston, the Governor observed:

"It is expected that before the end of the season upon which you are now entering the subway will be open for traffic from the entrance on the Public Garden to Park Street, and that Tremont Street will be relieved of all Boylston Street cars which now reverse at the Granary burying ground. Upon the completion of the subway to the northern station, not only the cars but the tracks will be removed, as required by law, from Boylston and Tremont Streets between Park Square and Scollay Square. Other streets adjacent to the subway within prescribed limits may also be cleared of such tracks as, in the opinion of the commission, are no longer necessary."

On the question of salaries the Governor appealed to the Legislature to go slow. While he agreed with his predecessor that a general law should be passed permitting the incorporation of trust companies, yet he believed that extreme caution

should be used in issuing charters by granting power to the end that the public may be properly guarded from speculation. He also asked the Legislature to consider:

"First, whether, in the case of State and municipal officers who have the custody of public funds, stock gambling—that is, the buying or selling of stocks on margin—should not be forbidden by law, under proper penalty, or be made by statute cause for removal from office; secondly, whether this principle may profitably be extended to treasurers of quasi-public and private corporations, and to trustees under private instruments."

He prayed for a shortened session and a reduced blue book, adding that both would not be unwelcomed by the people, but unfortunately his prayer was not efficacious.

"The volume of legislation is a poor criterion of its necessity or wisdom. The sagacious legislator will deem it as much his duty to reject unnecessary legislation as to favor that which he deems important. It is difficult to believe that five months of legislative session and seven hundred printed pages of acts and resolves are annually necessary," said he in concluding his address.

President Lawrence of the Senate was again chosen to preside over the upper branch of the Legislature and a new face appeared on the Speaker's rostrum in the House—John L. Bates of East Boston, who was just beginning a brilliant political career, which was cut short, however, after two years in the office of Governor by a discriminating electorate.

The Legislature of 1897 was in no more of a hurry to leave Beacon Hill than its predecessor, but it was finally prorogued June 12. Because of the split in the Democratic party at the November election many Democratic votes were diverted from the regular Democratic channel, and for the first time in many years a Republican appeared to be elected in the Fourth Councillor district, the only safely Democratic district in the State. The Republican nominee was Isaac B. Allen, a prominent colored politician of the ward type, more prominent in practical politics than in active business. His Democratic opponent, John H. Sullivan of East Boston, a well known and leading member of that party, who declined to follow the Bryan-Sewell-Williams flag that year, alleged that some 340 ballots cast for him had been thrown out by the election officers because the cross was not exactly opposite his name. The committee on election returns declined to go behind the returns and the certificate of election was given to Allen.

Allen was the first member of his race to be elected to such a high office in the State. Mr. Sullivan accepted the decision with gracefulness and escorted his successor to the Hall of Representatives as is the custom to hear the inaugural address and to take the oath of office. Mr. Allen held his office but one year. Mr. Sullivan was returned at the following election.

Perhaps the most important act of the Legislature this year was the granting of the charter to the Boston Elevated Street Railway Co., which later leased the West End Street Railway Co. and took over the transportation problem in Boston. The Governor was authorized to appoint a commission to investigate the relations of the street railway companies of the State and the municipalities. He named as the commissioners Charles Francis Adams, William W. Crapo and Elihu B. Hayes.

The most important veto of the year was the mill school tax bill which authorized a State tax of one dollar on the $1000 for the support of the public schools on the ground that it would not necessarily increase the sum to be expended for their support and that it would not tend to aid the weaker and overburdened communities to maintain their schools as a large portion of it would go to the cities and towns well able to support their schools.

Through the efforts of Senator Hoar the manuscript of Gov William Bradford's "History of the Plymouth Plantation" was returned to the people of the State. It was supposed to have been taken by the British soldiers on their evacuation from Boston during the Revolutionary war. Senator Hoar made the presentation speech and was in turn thanked by the Governor and other officials for his successful efforts in returning the valuable historic document. It was placed in the State library and is the most sought after historic document by visitors.

Again there were five State tickets in the field at the Fall election. The Republicans renominated their ticket of the year before, Wolcott and Crane. The Gold wing of the Democracy kept up the fight against the Bryan-Williams Democrats and nominated Dr. William Everett for Governor. The Democrats named their old ticket of last year, Williams and Callahan. Thomas C. Brophy was nominated for Governor by the Socialist-Labor party. The Prohibitionists named John Bascom

for Governor and the People's party again fused with the Bryan-Williams men not naming any candidate for Governor.

Because of the division in the ranks of their opponents the Republicans didn't have to do much campaigning. Their platform on local issues once more declared for the free unsectarian school and for the enforcement of the liquor laws, waved the flag frantically and marched on to victory.

The Democratic platform declared for municipal ownership of public utilities, a reform in the tax laws of the State, abolition of irresponsible commissions, popular elections of United States senators, eight-hour day for labor, better inspection of factories and an amendment to the employees liability law.

The vote for Governor was: Wolcott, Republican, 165,095; Williams, Democrat, 79,552; Everett, National Democrat, 13,879; Brophy, Socialist-Labor, 5301; Bascom, Prohibitionist, 4079.

Gov Wolcott entered upon his second full term of office, Jan. 6, 1898—a year which was to be the most memorable in his career as a public official. The past year, as he said in his inaugural, had been one of tranquil and orderly administration of the affairs of the Commonwealth. It had, as he said:

"Witnessed events of a nature calculated to stimulate patriotism, and to strengthen those sentiments of deep gratitude and veneration towards the founders of the Republic which are a precious heritage from the past.

'The Commonwealth was officially represented at the impressive pageant which attended the dedication of the Grant monument in the city of New York, and also at the exposition which commemorated the centennial anniversary of the admission into the Union of the State of Tennessee. On the fourth day of March official and ceremonial notice was taken of the inauguration, one hundred years before, of the first President given by the Commonwealth to the nation, John Adams.

"In May the delivery into the custody of the Commonwealth, through an act of generous international courtesy on the part of Great Britain, of the priceless manuscript history of the Plymouth Plantation by Governor William Bradford, was made the occasion of services in this chamber which expressed the appreciative gratitude with which the gift was received by the people of Massachusetts."

"Later in the same month the Commonwealth took part in the solemn services attending the unveiling of the beautiful monument on Boston Common, facing the State House, which for all time will commemorate the valor of the Fifty-fourth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers, and of its heroic commander, Colonel Shaw. In the autumn the return to Boston Harbor of the old frigate "Constitution," the most famous vessel of the navy of the United

States, on the one hundredth anniversary of her launching, was fittingly celebrated by a military and naval display and by the eloquent rehearsal of her victories. Such acts of commemoration speak to the hearts of our people, and quicken the pulse of loyalty to the nation's honor.'

Evidently chafing under the old legislative trick of holding back important legislation affecting corporation and other special interests, the Governor asked the legislators not to impose on him duties which it was well nigh impossible for him rightly to perform, saying:

"The closing hours of a legislative session are a time of great strain and embarrassment to the Executive. There are annually presented to him for executive aproval, during the final night of the session, a large number of bills, including often some of the most complex and difficult bills which the session has produced, action upon which has been delayed by the Legislature, owing in some cases, perhaps, to their inability to deal with them at an earlier date; and yet the Executive is expected to pass final judgment upon the merits of many such in a single night; the only alternative left him being to keep the Legislature in session, after they have no further business to occupy them, up to the constitutional limit of time allowed him for the examination of bills. Nor in many of the most difficult cases is it possible for the Executive, by keeping informed in advance of the bills which are likely to be laid before him, to be prepared to act upon them without delay. Many of those to which he may have given the most careful study are rejected on their final passage, while upon others are engrafted so many and such important amendments as to change entirely their purport and the correlation of their parts. I ask that, as the session nears its close, you will extend to the Executive the consideration of endeavoring not to impose upon him duties which it is well nigh impossible for him rightly to perform."

Again and more about the danger of the fast mounting public debt was referred to, but the Legislature heeded not the warnings. There was the usual review of the State institutions and their work, and here and there a suggestion to remedy some slight fault. He felt it necessary to once more refer to the question of a franchise tax on street railways which the last Legislature had referred to a special committee of the members to report to the present body The taxation question was still open, the commissioners named to investigate the subject being unable to agree. The Governor recommended more stringent laws regarding assessment insurance. He touched upon education, harbor improvements, the building of the new State dock in South Boston, the work of the various State boards. Referring to the Cape Cod Canal project, he said:

"It would appear to be a safe inference, after the careful study of competent experts and engineers, the project is found not to promise reasonable financial returns with sufficient certainty to induce the investment of the large amount of private capital needed for its completion.

"During these many years a cloud has rested upon all titles to real estate in the vicinity of the proposed route of the canal. I think it is time that this uncertainty should end, and that the Legislature should recognise the improbability of the construction of the work by private enterprise during the lifetime of the present generation.

"There can be no doubt, however, of the value to the commercial interests of the Commonwealth of a canal across the Cape, and a plan will be laid before your honorable bodies for the use in its construction of the labor of certain classes of prisoners, under such conditions as shall secure their humane treatment and safe custody. The application of prison labor to public works of general utility is not an untried experiment, and merits your careful consideration."

Nothing came of this suggestion. A few years later August Belmont, a New York financier, took hold of the project and built the canal, opening it to shipping in the summer of 1914.

George E. Smith succeeded George P. Lawrence as President of the Senate. Speaker Bates was reelected and both branches settled down for a long session, lasting until June 23, 170 days, destined to be one of the most historic in recent years because of the outbreak of hostilities between Spain and the United States.

As in the Revolution and in the Civil War, so in the Spanish-American War, Massachusetts was first in the field in defence of freedom. On April 15, Gov Wolcott asked the Legislature for $500,000 to be extended in defraying military and naval expenses. Within 25 minutes the law was passed, engrossed, and received the signature of the Chief Executive. This is said to be the record time on legislation. All rules were suspended and the unanimity displayed showed that Massachusetts was of but one mind and that to once more demonstrate that the patriotism of the State and its loyalty to the government at Washington was unsurpassed by any of her sister commonwealths. Massachusetts troops were in the field the day after war was declared. The State treated its soldiers and sailors with its customary liberality.

The quota of the State under the two calls of the President was 7388, but it is estimated that between 10,000 and 12,000 Massachusetts men volunteered in the army and navy during

the war. The regiments that left the state fully equipped for service were the 2nd, 5th, 6th, 8th and 9th. The 2nd and 9th were a part of the force engaged in the reduction of Santiago and the 2nd was engaged with the enemy.

The appearance of the 6th regiment in the streets of Baltimore on its way to Camp Alger, Va., was an event of national interest and importance. Thirty-seven years before, a command with the same regimental number on its way to defend the national capital at the outbreak of the Rebellion was mobbed and the blood of Massachusetts' troops flowed in the streets of the Oriole city. It was a hot bed of secession at that time. The second appearance of the 6th Massachusetts regiment in Baltimore was happily quite different. They were received with open arms and shown many courtesies, thus demonstrating that the sectional animosities of the great conflict between North and South had disappeared.

In reviewing the work of the Metropolitan commissions, Gov Wolcott suggested the continuance of the Transit Commission of Boston, whose official life would end in July unless new legislation were passed extending it, which was done. He urged State control and care of the insane. He was of the opinion, he said, that all offenders against the laws of the Commonwealth should be subject to final State control. He favored the referendum on all special laws affecting municipalities. The subject of tuberculosis in cattle was discussed quite fully as its importance demanded and he expressed the hope that the Legislature would determine a general policy in dealing with this source of danger to public health.

He was not impressed with the soundness of assessment insurance and pointed out what he believed a real danger if not checked. He favored higher salaries for the justices of the Superior and Supreme courts of the State. The Legislature was asked to pass a law limiting the height of buildings in the vicinity of the State House so that the capitol would not be overshadowed and shut in by the modern skyscraper, which it did later.

The year 1898 marked the centenary of the old State capitol. The State authorities took possession of the State House on Jan. 11, 1798, and the 100th anniversary of this event was celebrated in a fitting manner by State officials and by both branches of the Legislature.

Five hundred and eighty-four bills and 119 resolves was

the record of the session. There were only two vetoes. The Luce election law was passed which was by far the most important piece of political legislation that year. The tax laws were improved and the Torrens Land system was adopted. The court consists of two judges and has jurisdiction of all applications for registration of titles.

The report of the special commission to investigate the relations of street railways and municipalities and towns was received and a law was passed embodying its most important recommendations. The street railways were put under the jurisdiction of the railroad commissioners.

After years of agitation a law was passed regulating fraternal beneficiary insurance associations. Other important insurance laws were passed during this session. Hanging for capital crimes was abolished and a law provided that thereafter the death penalty shall be inflicted by electricity.

Greylock Mountain in the Berkshires was made a State reservation and an appropriation of $25,000 was made for the enterprise. Woman suffrage was unable to muster enough votes in the House that year to secure a roll call on the question.

When the political season was opened in the early Fall, the Democrats met at Worcester. The Free Silver element of the party had control of the convention machinery and under the leadership of George Fred Williams removed from the office of National Committeeman Gen John W. Corcoran, who was not in sympathy with that wing of the party. The platform endorsed every principle of the last Democratic national convention, free silver and all. It took strong ground against Imperialism, then in its infancy, because of the acquisition of the Philippines. The planks on public ownership of public utilities of the previous year were reiterated and the party stood squarely for the initiative and referendum. None but Free Silver Bryan men were nominated on the State ticket that year. The candidate for Governor was Alexander B. Bruce of Lawrence.

Oct. 6th, two days later, the Republicans met in Boston and renominated Gov Wolcott. Their platform followed largely the national platform of the party, commended the Dingley tariff law, praised President McKinley for his conduct in peace and war, glorified the deeds of American arms in the war just closed and declared for a larger army and navy.

The campaign was a walkover for the Republicans as the Democrats were still divided, although the Gold wing of the party made no nominations for State officers this year. The vote for the head of the ticket this year was: Wolcott, Republican, 191,146; Bruce, Democrat, 107,960; Peare, Socialist-Labor, 10,063; Shapleigh, Prohibitionist, 4734; Porter, Socialist-Democrat, 3749. The Executive Council as usual consisted of one Democrat and seven Republicans.

The Senate elected was: Republicans 33, Democrats 7; House, Republicans 165; Democrats 65; Independents 10. The Republicans elected 10 out of the 13 congressmen.

In his third and last inaugural address to the Legislature, Jan. 5, 1899, Gov Wolcott called attention to the fact that the United States for a half century had waged no war against a foreign foe and said in reviewing the events of the year just passed:

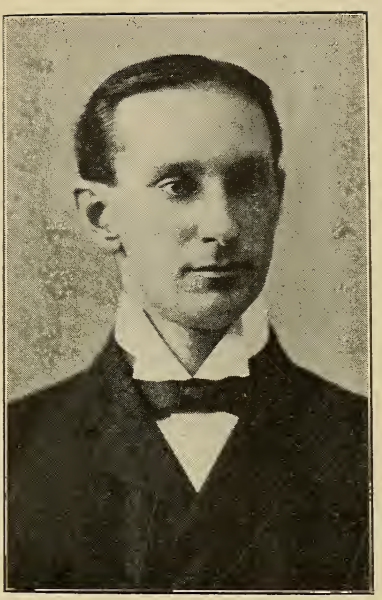
"On the nineteenth day of April—a day of historic significance—a joint resolution was adopted by Congress, declaring that the people of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent, demanding that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and directing and empowering the President to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to carry these resolutions into effect. This was accompanied by a disclaimer on the part of the United States of any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island, except for its pacification."

"There is no doubt in my mind that this war was entered upon by the great majority of the people of the United States, without distinction of party or locality, with high and unselfish purpose; nor do I doubt that its results will be promotive of civilization and enlightenment."

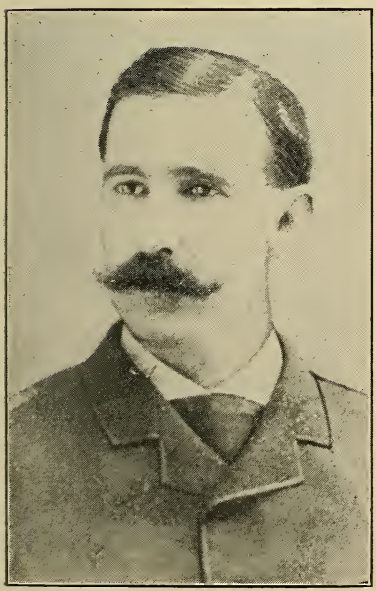
With pardonable and undisguised pride he referred to the splendid patriotic spirit Massachusetts manifested in responding to the call of the National government for assistance even anticipating that war coming four days before war was declared.

"On April 15th" said the Governor, "I deemed it my duty to ask the legislature to appropriate the sum of $500,000 to be expended under the direction of the Commander-in-Chief in defraying military and naval expenses which the existing emergency might render requisite and proper. On the same day, with absolute unanimity and within the period of twenty-five minutes, a resolve making the appropriation asked for was passed through its several stages in both branches of the Legislature, was engrossed and received the

Willard Howland.



Robert Treat Paine, Jr.



John W. Cummings.

John F. Fitzgerald.

approval of the Executive. Such action not only showed the quick and enthusiastic loyalty to the national government of the chosen representatives of the people of this Commonwealth but was also an expression of confidence in the Executive which was deeply gratifying to him."

Speaking of the splendid work that the Massachusetts Volunteer Aid Association did in the war in the care of the sick and wounded soldiers from Massachusetts, Gov Wolcott referred to the death of ex-Congressman Sherman Hoar, who contracted fever at Montauk Point while working among the soldier boys in the army hospital. Mr. Hoar died at his home in Concord Oct. 7, 1898.

"In this work many gave freely of their time and thought, but I cannot forbear mention of one, distinguished by inheritance and by his own achievements, who with generous devotion and indefatigable energy gave himself to the high service of relieving the suffering and supplying the needs of our sick soldiers; and in this service, in the vigor of early manhood, freely laid down a life precious to his friends and to the State, and bright with promise of future distinction. May the Commonwealth never lack such citizens as Sherman Hoar," said he.

The financial situation relating to the Metropolitan district was gone into quite extensively by the Governor, who reviewed the subject. Speaking of the Metropolitan parks, on which $8,000,000 had been spent, he had this to say:

"In my opinion, the magnitude of the amount already expended, as well as of the amount which will be necessary for the future gradual development of the extensive territory thus reserved, and for the costly maintenance of the parkways already authorized, forcibly suggests the need of extreme caution in adding materially to the initial expenditure of the district under this head."

He also told of the work under the direction of the Metropolitan Water Board with its appropriation of $27,000,000, but felt that it was money well invested for, he observed:

"When the great work is completed, the priceless possession of a supply of water excellent in quality, ample for the needs of the district for many years to come, and at a cost far less than would have been necessary without such concert of action, and which in proportion to the population will decrease from year to year."

He commented favorably on the work being done in Boston by the Transit Commission for rapid transit. The suggestion in his inaugural the year before in favor of final

State control of all offenders against the laws of the Commonwealth was renewed with even more vigor.

Under the head of Municipal Legislation Gov Wolcott protested against the mass of legislation passed every year affecting the city of Boston and declared that there was danger in carrying this too far.

"Too frequent change in the system under which a municipal goverment is conducted,' said he, "tends to confuse the minds of the voters, and to weaken their self-reliance and determination to attain the best possible results under an existing system, while holding out to them the hope, not always realized, of improvement through legislative enactment, rather than through their own continued and earnest efforts."

He believed that assessment insurance was radically wrong and he asked the Legislature to pass a law prohibiting it. He favored higher salaries for the judges of the Superior and Supreme courts and suggested an inquiry into the subject.

The Great and General Court of 1899 remained in session from Jan. 4 to June 3 with the presiding officers of the year before in the chair.

One of the first and most important political happenings of the year was the reelection of U. S. Senator Lodge. Alexander B. Bruce, who had been the Democratic candidate for Governor in November, received the Democratic votes. Gov Wolcott signed 479 bills and 103 resolves and vetoed three measures. One of the bills which the Governor vetoed exempted certain unions from the operations of the laws relative to fraternal beneficiary organizations, but the bill was passed over the Governor's objections, showing the power of labor organizations in the Legislature.

Gov Wolcott's second veto was the bill giving Spanish war veterans a preference in the civil service. That veto stood, but the third veto was not sustained. It related to the restoration of the provisions for days of grace on sight drafts and bills of exchange abolished by the previous body.

There were further amendments to the election laws. Important laws affecting education were passed, among them the establishment of 40 scholarships at the Worcester Polytechnic School, the authorization of vacation schools and the establishment of additional textile schools. A retirement law was passed for justices of the Supreme and Superior court on three-

quarters pay. Woman suffrage was turned down again, as was the effort to allow them to vote on liquor licenses.

In the Fall the Democrats nominated Robert Treat Paine Jr. for Governor. Mr. Paine was one of the few men of wealth and high social standing in the State who supported Bryan and Free Silver in 1896. The platform was largely a reiteration of the previous one. The war in the Philippines was characterized as "criminal aggression." It demanded that the life tenure of judges be repealed.

Gov Wolcott having served the customary length of time announced his decision to retire from politics at the close of his term and Lieut Gov Crane was moved up, as was Speaker Bates, who was made Crane's running mate on the State ticket. Their platform congratulated the people on the return of prosperity under Republican rule, declared its opposition to trusts and illegal combinations of capital. Lynching was condemned and Gov Wolcott's administration was eulogized.

The Socialist-Labor party nominated for Governor Winfield P. Porter. The Prohibitionists named John W. Baer. Again the People's party joined in supporting the Democratic nominee. It was another landslide for the Republicans. Mr. Crane received 168,902 votes, Mr. Paine 100,802, Porter 10,778 and Baer 7402.

The Legislature stood: Senate: Republicans 31, Democrats 9; House, Republicans 166, Democrats 68; Independents 4, Socialist-Labor 2.

CHAPTER X.

GOV CRANE'S ESSENTIALLY A BUSINESS MAN'S ADMINISTRATION—LITTLE OR NO POLITICS IN IT.

WHEN Winthrop Murray Crane of Dalton took the oath of office as Governor on January 4, 1900, and read his inaugural message before the members of the Legislature and those assembled in the hall of the House of Representatives, he was 37 years old. It was his first public address.

Mr. Crane was a unique figure in Massachusetts politics. In the ordinary sense of the word he was not a politician—at least not the kind of a politician the public was accustomed to. He lacked what most people regard as necessary in a successful man in politics. He was not a public speaker. He had not a commanding presence like his predecessor, Roger Wolcott, nor was he given to the gladhand habit so common among public men, but he possessed many attractive personal qualities which endeared him to his neighbors and friends. He was born and grew up in the little Berkshire hill town of Dalton, which nestles in one of the most picturesque spots in that charming and romantic section of the State.

His schooling was gained in his native town and at Williston Seminary, Northampton. He might have gone to college and brought home a degree, but he preferred to engage in business with his father in the manufacture of high grade paper. For generations the Cranes of Dalton had made the paper for United States treasury and bank notes and other purposes of the government at Washington. This is still one of the important departments of the Crane business.

The Cranes have been from earliest times men of influence and standing in Western Massachusetts. They took a pride and an interest in the affairs of their town, county and State, proving it by serving in various public capacities.

Winthrop Murray Crane early displayed an interest in

public affairs and by 1892 he had become important enough in the eyes of Republican party leaders to be sent as one of the four delegates-at-large to the Republican National Convention. In 1896 he was again chosen as a delegate. In that same year he was a candidate for the Republican nomination for Lieutenant Governor, defeating Col Samuel E. Winslow, of Worcester, in a hard fought contest.

By this time Mr. Crane had established himself firmly as an important factor in the affairs of his party and the State. In the quiet, unobtrusive little man who had been elected Governor a new figure in the political life of the State had arrived. From that time down to the present he has retained his hold on his party and the public as a safe and sane man to follow in political affairs.

Possessed of ample wealth, a man of large business connections, clean and broad minded, charitable and generous to an extent unknown even among his intimate friends, Murray Crane, as he is familiarly called by almost everybody in the State, was singularly fitted for the office of Governor of Massachusetts. The affectionate regard in which he has always been held by those associated with him is the best evidence of his character and standing as a man. More than one Governor of Massachusetts has seen his own popularity wane as his administration neared its end and has left the State House at the expiration of his term of office, missing the plaudits of the public. Not so with Mr. Crane. When he transferred the reins of government to his successor, John L. Bates in 1902, Mr. Crane's popularity was as great as the day he entered upon his duties as Chief Executive.

He was the first business man the State had had for Governor since Oliver Ames surrendered the office to John Q. A. Brackett. Mr. Crane came in with the Republican tidal wave of 1896 as Lieutenant Governor. He did not attempt to play politics as Governor or Lieutenant Governor. He dealt with all alike—Democrats and Republicans—on questions affecting the State. When the Legislature was headed wrong he quietly called some of the leaders in and argued with them. He is a great believer in the old adage: "A soft answer turneth away wrath." He got along splendidly with the Legislature and the State officials and was elected Lieutenant Governor and then Governor without making a political speech. Mr. Crane was a large shareholder in the Boston &

Albany Railroad. He favored the lease of that road to the New York Central and was active among the stockholders in bringing about the lease.

Mr. Crane's three inaugural addresses were more of the nature of business documents than political harrangues or reviews. They were comparatively short as inaugurals go. The affairs of the Commonwealth were discussed frankly and the law making power was admonished to go slow about piling up more public debt. As a practical and successful business man the financial condition of the State naturally attracted his attention and somewhat alarmed him. He spread the figures of the State debt, some $45,000,000, before the members of the Great and General Court and the public, and declared:

"The lesson which the figures of this debt statement teach is, that Massachusetts has reached a limit of indebtedness beyond which she should not go. It is time to call a halt. In looking over these items it will be found in almost every instance that the object is a worthy one, and I have no doubt the Commonwealth has received full value for the moneys expended. The question for us to consider, however, is, not the propriety of past expenditures, but to take heed of the conditions which now confront us.

"The Commonwealth needs a breathing spell for financial recuperation. This is doubly true of the Metropolitan district. The cities and towns in that district are just beginning to feel the burdens in the way of taxation which the great enterprises undertaken for their benefit have thrown upon them. It was necessary that there should have been an increased water supply, improved drainage and sanitation, and it was a wise foresight that projected the great parks that now adorn the metropolitan district; but the time has come when no new work in these directions should be authorized. I recommend that a stop be made at once to the authorization of expenditures for new work in this district. I cannot too strongly urge this matter upon your attention. Rigid economy must be exercised in appropriations and expenditures."

On the question of the multiplicity of State commissions he said:

"I believe in the main that the duties committed to these commissions have been faithfully, wisely and efficiently discharged. Inquiry and reflection, however, have confirmed an opinion for some time held by me that the best interests of the public service will be advanced by a revision of some of the commissions, and I recommend this important subject to your careful consideration."

He discussed the needs of the State institutions, congratulated the State on the passage of the law the year before requiring life insurance contracts to be protected by an ade-

quate reserve, asked the Legislature to memorialize Congress to widen and deepen the harbor channel, recommended that the cost of maintaining the State highways be assessed on the counties, cities and towns, declared that there must be no letting down the restrictive bars on liquor selling, and condemned the tendency of the Legislature to interfere too much in the local affairs of cities and towns.

The Legislature was strongly Republican. James J. Meyers was chosen Speaker of the House and George E. Smith once more presided over the Senate.

There was a lively contest for Speaker on the Republican side of the House, James J. Meyers of Cambridge defeating Frank P. Bennett of Saugus and Charles R. Sanders of Boston for the caucus nomination, the vote being: Meyers, 84; Bennett, 55; Sanders, 24.

A movement was started to repeal the old law by which Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts because of his religious views, but the Legislature refused to do it on the ground that even if they did repeal the statute Mr. Williams would not return, Mr. Williams having died a great many years before any of the members of the Great and General Court of Massachusetts of 1900 were born.

The repeal of the poll tax law was refused. Saloons were ordered closed election day. Cities and towns were authorized to grant pensions to teachers and firemen. The House went on record for the election of United States Senators by the people.

A resolution was adopted in favor of the Boers of South Africa and hoping for freedom of the Transvaal in its fight for independence against English aggression. The leases of the Fitchburg Railroad to the Boston & Maine and the Boston & Albany to the New York Central were authorized after assurances had been received from the lessors that the service would be improved and everything would be done that could be done to encourage the export business from the port of Boston.

The Legislative session lasted 196 days during which Gov Crane signed 479 acts and 108 resolves. He vetoed nine acts all of which were upheld by the Legislature.

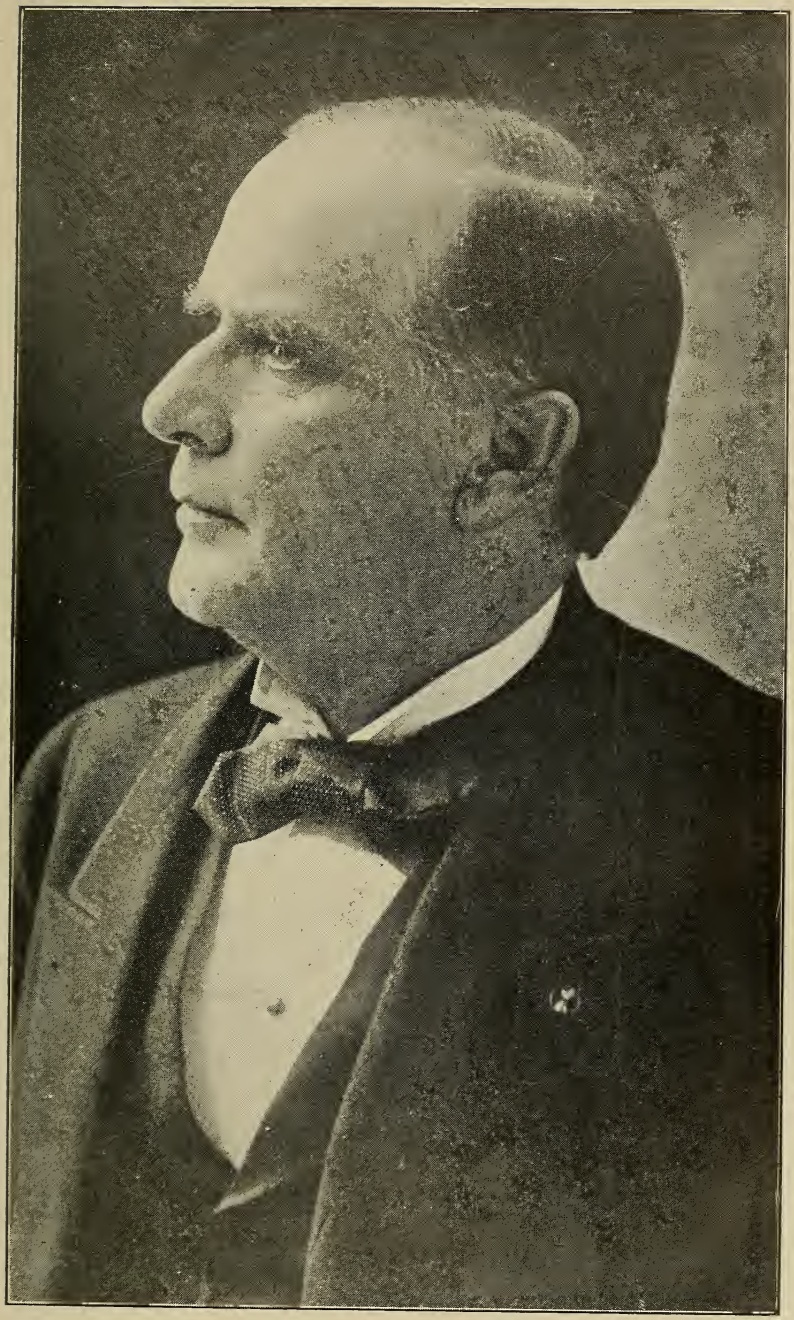
CHAPTER XI.

NATIONAL AND STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1900—REPUBLICANS RE-ELECT McKINLEY—DEMOCRATS FOR BRYAN.

LED by George Fred Williams as head of the delegation, the Massachusetts Democrats journeyed to Kansas City in 1900 to help renominate William J. Bryan for President. The other Delegates-At-Large were Albion C. Drinkwater, William S. McNary and Christopher T. Callahan. Mr. Williams was the acknowledged mouthpiece of the Bay State delegation. Many leading Democrats of the State still held aloof from their party. They refused to contest with Mr. Williams for the control of the delegation and made up their minds to vote for McKinley, the Republican candidate, if the Democrats insisted on Bryan and free silver. As a result of this decision by the Gold Democrats not to contest with the Silver men for the control of the delegation Mr. Bryan's followers in the State had things their own way.

A few of them had a kindly feeling for David B. Hill of New York, but Mr. Hill was not a very important factor at Kansas City. Nor was he popular with the Cleveland wing of the party, so that he found himself with little influence in either camp. Mr. Hill went to the National convention, but for all the good he accomplished in behalf of his sound money ideas he might just as well remained at "Woolfert's Roost," his home in New York State.

Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that George Fred Williams was a bigger man at this convention than the ex-Governor and ex-Senator of New York, in shaping the platform and naming the ticket. Mr. Hill worked hard to prevent a 16 to 1 Silver plank, but he was out-voted. He bowed to the will of the majority and supported the ticket. Four years before as one of the leaders for sound money he retired to his home after his defeat and remained silent in the campaign. He was one of the members of the committee on resolutions at the Kansas City convention and aroused a lot of enthusiasm



President McKinley.

by announcing in a brief speech his intention to support the ticket, although he did not believe in the money plank in the platform.

George Fred Williams was the Massachusetts member of the platform committee and stood out uncompromisingly for a 16 to 1 plank. While the committee on resolutions was in session David B. Hill received the following telegram:

"Boston—July 4—Hon. D. B. Hill: Democratic members Massachusetts Legislature repudiate Williams advocacy of 16 to 1. They are with you to finish. (Signed) James F. Mullen."

The message was wired to their papers by the correspondents covering the convention and made quite a little stir in Boston and Kansas City, but it had no influence on the attitude of the Massachusetts delegation who followed Williams and Bryan in every move they made at the convention. Mr. Mullen was a Boston business man but there was no evidence that he had consulted the Democratic members of the Legislature on the subject.

At the session of the platform committee, George Fred Williams made a spirited argument for a specific declaration on the question of ratio. He asserted that the Democratic party had become a new party since it had incorporated the financial question in its declaration of principles. It had become a virile and live party since 1896 and this fact was due solely to the circumstance that the money question, which was the question of the people, had been made the paramount issue. He eulogized Mr. Bryan, spoke of his self-abnegation and patriotism, and said that it would be cowardly to ask that gentleman to recant what he had been preaching throughout the country for the past four years.

Mr. Bryan, said Mr. Williams, had gone up and down the nation preaching bimetallism at the ratio of 16 to 1, and no Democrat had presumed for a moment to question his authority for such declaration or to pretend that he was in any wise misrepresenting the sentiment of his party. It was, in his opinion, too late now to condemn Mr. Bryan's course and a failure to make positive pronouncement on this question would amount to this.

While not pretending to say what Mr. Bryan would do, Mr. Williams asserted emphatically and significantly that if placed in Mr. Bryan's position he would decline a nomination

upon an equivocal platform. As for himself he did not believe in deserting those people who had left their own parties to support the Democratic policy of four years ago for the purpose of regaining the support of the traitors and trimmers who had left the Democratic party because of its financial position.

"There is no reason," he exclaimed, "for making any concession to treason." Continuing, he asked: "Are we going to drive the Populists into the middle of the road in order to get back those traitors? Are we going to sell our principles to the Tories of the Democratic party and desert our real friends?" He predicted that if this course was to be pursued the trusts would take complete control of the Democratic party as they had already taken possession of the Republican party, and in that event there would no longer be any ark or refuge for the plain people.

By a close vote after 12 hours of wrangling the committee incorporated the 16 to 1 plank in the platform. Those who attended the session of the committee say that it was one of the most remarkable political gatherings in American history. As finally adopted the innocent-looking but far-reaching and important plank read as follows:

"We reiterate the demand of the platform of 1896 for an American financial system made by the Americans for themselves which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and, as part of such system, the immediate restoration of free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

On that issue four years before Mr. Bryan had received the votes of more than 6,000,000 of his countrymen and he was loath to abandon any such capital campaign issue. His orders to his lieutenants on the battle ground were to insist on a 16 to 1 plank.

A majority of the Massachusetts delegates followed Mr. Williams in supporting Towne for Vice-Presidential candidate. Towne had been a prominent Minnesota Free Silver Republican and his nomination, it was felt, would keep this element in line for Bryan.

Senator Lodge headed the Massachusetts delegation this year to the Republican National Convention, which was held at Philadelphia. His associates were Samuel W. McCall, a member of Congress; William B. Plunkett of Adams, a per-

sonal friend of President McKinley, and Walter Clifford of New Bedford, son-in-law of William W. Crapo. Senator Lodge was made permanent chairman of the convention. He set forth in his virile style the accomplishments of the party, the achievements of the McKinley administration and the issues of the campaign. Senator Lodge's speech was a bold defiance of the Democrats to battle. There was no equivocation, no ambiguity in the speech of the permanent chairman on the platform.

It was at this convention that Col Roosevelt was nominated for Vice-President. It was only after much urging and persuasion that he consented to accept the nomination. The Colonel was Governor of New York at the time and head of the New York delegation to the convention. He felt that some of the New York political bosses were trying to shelve him politically when they suggested him for Vice-President. He was interfering too much with their carefully laid political plans and was too independent for them.

For hours they labored with the Colonel to accept and he finally consented and received the nomination. He toured the doubtful States in the campaign and the Republicans were again triumphant. If the political bosses really meant to shelve him, making him the presiding officer of the Senate, it was another case of "The best laid plans of mice and men aft gang aglee."

It is quite true that the office of Vice-President is not one which an active man like Col Roosevelt would care for. The Senate is a prosaic body and it is the last place in the world which a friend would select for a Rough Rider.

McKinley's second administration was but six months old when the President was stricken down by the bullet of Czolgosz, a demented man, while he was holding a public reception at the Buffalo exposition and Vice-President Roosevelt succeeded to the presidency. Thus the man whom the New York bosses thought they had politically shelved was elevated to the chief magistracy.

Massachusetts was glad to vote for Roosevelt for Vice-President at the Philadelphia convention. He was Senator Lodge's old and intimate friend. The two agreed on many things political and had to some extent been partners in literature. The Massachusetts delegation was unanimous for Roosevelt's nomination for second place. Michael J. Murray,

now a judge of the Municipal Court, was chosen to second Roosevelt's nomination. Mr. Murray had long been recognized as one of the best speakers in the Republican party of this State. He began stumping for the party before he was 21 in the famous Blaine-Cleveland presidential contest. Mr. Murray discharged the duty with credit to himself and the delegation. As chairman of the committee to notify the President of his second nomination at the hands of his party, Senator Lodge performed that duty July 12 at McKinley's modest home in the little city of Canton, Ohio.

The Republicans carried the State for McKinley and Roosevelt by over 80,000 plurality. the vote being McKinley 238,886; Bryan, 156,997. They also elected 10 of the 13 Congressmen and the Legislature chosen was Republican. The vote for Bryan, however, showed that the Democracy of Massachusetts was getting back its normal strength, but the vote for Governor was a disappointment to the Bryan men. The Democrats named as their candidate young Robert Treat Paine. Mr. Williams considered him loyal enough to transfer to his hands the Bryan banner. The Bryan men worked hard for him but his vote was 26,000 less than that cast for Mr. Bryan. The Republican nominee for Governor, W. Murray Crane of Dalton, carried the State by almost 100,000 and this without making a speech. Indeed Mr. Crane has never been noted for speech-making.

The Democratic nominee for Lieutenant Governor was John B. O'Donnell of Northampton, a prominent lawyer in the Western part of the State and an enthusiastic Bryan man. His Republican opponent, John L. Bates, carried the State by 104,000 plurality over him. Boston returned to the Democratic column this year and begrudgingly gave Mr. Bryan a scant 10,000 plurality. Democratic Congressmen were elected in the third, ninth and tenth districts.

CHAPTER XII.

GOV CRANE'S SECOND AND THIRD TERMS—DECLINES OFFER OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO MAKE HIM MEMBER OF HIS CABINET—SETTLES GREAT STRIKE OF TEAMSTERS —SUCCEEDED BY JOHN L. BATES—COL GASTON DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE.

BEFORE he discussed the affairs of State administration in his inaugural address of 1901, Gov. Crane paused long enough to pay the following tribute to the late Gov. Wolcott whom he succeeded as chief executive of the State:

"Almost on the eve of your assembling, my predecessor in office, who so recently stood in this place to speak words of suggestion and counsel to the General Court, passed away, mourned sincerely by the people of the Commonwealth. Roger Wolcott had given the ripest years of his life to the service of the State, discharging every public duty with distinguished ability and splendid integrity. He leaves the best legacy a man can transmit to posterity,—the memory of a useful, successful and well spent life."

He renewed his recommendation of the year before against further and unnecessary expenditures in the metropolitan district, saying:

"The salaries paid by the Commonwealth are, in the main, adequate, and increases should not be authorized except in manifestly deserving cases. You cannot be too vigilant in guarding the public treasury. The tendency of the times is to pile up debt without taking sufficient thought as to the means of payment. Simplicity of method and economy in administration should be the watchword of every department of the public service,"

The work in progress by all of the State commissions was reviewed and concisely set before the Legislature together with helpful suggestions for improvements in the administration of various departments. He advocated the consolidation of the Metropolitan Water and Metropolitan Sewerage board on the grounds of efficiency and economy. The Governor entered an emphatic objection to further appropriations for the topographical survey and map of the Commonwealth, begun in 1884 on an appropriation not to exceed $40,000 but which had exceeded $250,000. He urged the ap-

pointment of commissioners to revise the public statutes. The last revision was in 1880.

"Except for demands of the most exigent public necessity, the laws restricting expenditures for municipal purposes should not be suspended by the legislature,"

said the Governor, touching on municipal legislation. He pointed with pride to the substantial increase in population of the State as shown by the 12th Federal census and the healthy industrial growth of the Commonwealth.

"The product of the industries of the Commonwealth now approximates $1,000,000,000 annually, giving employment to 500,000 wage earners, whose annual earnings are about $225,000,000," he declared.

"So far as they may require regulation by law, to your hands for the current year are committed these great human and material interests. It is a great trust, and one that will need, to discharge it well, intelligent and industrious attention to duty. From every one of us the Commonwealth has a right to expect honest, loyal, disinterested service.

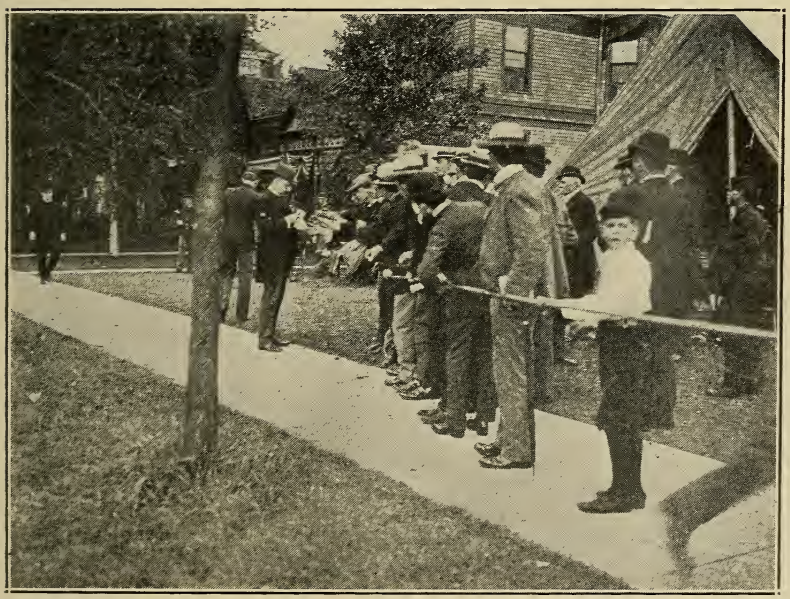
"During the last century our fathers built up here from small beginnings a great Commonwealth, the pride of our own poeple and the admiration of all others. Let us make a start in this opening year of the new century which will be an example and an incentive to those who shall come after us."

Gov. Crane did his part and practiced what he preached, but the same cannot be said of the members of the Legislature. Everybody who thinks he has a panacea for any civil ill runs to the Legislature with it and if they make noise enough usually succeed in incorporating it in the blue book. The Legislative session of 1901 lasted until June 10. Rufus R. Soule of New Bedford was President of the Senate and James J. Meyers Speaker of the House.

Senator Hoar whose term as United States Senator was expiring March 3 following was re-elected for his fifth term He was not in favor of the Philippine policy of the administration but that did not make any difference in the attitude of the Legislators of his party towards him.

Richard Olney, who had been Attorney General and Secretary of State in the second Cleveland administration was the Democratic candidate against Senator Hoar. Senator Hoar on receiving the official notification of his re-election, wrote the presiding officer of both branches thanking the Legislature through them for its confidence in him and that

Reporters Interviewing Col. Roosevelt at Buffalo.



Secretary Cortelyou Giving Out Bulletins, at Buffalo, the Day President McKinley Died.

he fully appreciated the great honor of representing the old Commonwealth in the United States Senate.

Early in the session the Legislature set aside a day for eulogies of the late Gov. Wolcott. All political parties joined in paying him tribute.

During the Legislative session Vice-President Roosevelt visited the State House and made a brief address and held a reception. The motion to invite Col. Roosevelt to address the House was made by Representative Dean of Brookline, father of "Dud" Dean, a famous foot ball player at Harvard and member of Col. Roosevelt's Rough Rider regiment.

All the Greater Boston schemes were sent over to the next General Court. A new grade crossing law was passed on the lines suggested by Gov. Crane in his inaugural.

The Governor vetoed the Washington St. Subway bill and insisted on the city building it and leasing it to the street railway company, a policy which had been pursued by the municipality since it undertook to improve the transit facilities of Boston. The veto was a popular one and made many friends for Gov. Crane. After stating his reasons for disapproving this bill, the Governor summed up his objections as follows:

"I am unable to give my assent to a bill which thus restricts the rights of the public on the one hand while on the other hand it insures valuable exclusive privileges to the company in question for so long a period, and that too without any public exigency requiring the passage of so extraordinary a measure."

The Metropolitan Water and Sewerage board was created consisting of three members. The office of Prison Commissioner was abolished and a new Board of Prison Commissioners was appointed by authority of the Legislature. The liquor laws were stiffened up and it was made a misdemeanor to sell or give away cigarettes to those under 16. The Bucket Shop bill was passed this year, putting that class of "stockbrokers" in the class with the gamblers and wiped them out of existence.

Street railways were authorized to carry U. S. mail and newspapers. A law was passed making kidnapping punishable by 25 years imprisonment. The pure food law was strengthened to protect the public against antiseptic and preservative substances.

When the Legislature was prorogued it was to meet

again Nov. 13 for the purpose of considering such revision of the statutes as a special committee of 50 should recommend. At this special session the report of the committee on the revision was accepted and 7500 copies were ordered printed.

Resolutions on the death of President McKinley were adopted at the adjourned session, the President having died at Buffalo, September 14th.

At the November election the Republicans carried the State without much effort re-electing their ticket of the year before. The Democrats nominated as their candidate for Governor Josiah Quincy, who consented to lead the forlorn hope. The vote for Governor was: Crane, Republican, 185,-809; Quincy, Democrat, 114,362; Lewis, Prohibitionist, 4780; Wrenn, Democratic-Socialist, 10,671: Berry, Socialist-Labor 8898. The Legislature was heavily Republican.

Gov. Crane was inaugurated for the third time Jan. 2, 1902. The growing State debt and increasing expenditures of the Commonwealth were again called to the attention of the public and the Legislature was cautioned to avoid extravagance and increasing outlays of public monies. The Governor recommended an appropriation of $5,000,000 to be spent at the rate of $500,000 a year for the abolition of grade crossings. He thought that the street railways having lines upon crossings to be abolished should bear some part of the expense of abolition. On the subject of municipal legislation he felt justified in complimenting the law making body on the good start it had made in refusing to pass many measures which should be regulated by local ordinance rather than statute law, saying:

"I am glad to bear witness that last year there was great improvement in respect to this class of legislation; and I trust that in your consideration of municipal measures this year you will find it advisable to exercise still further restraint."

He expressed the hope that there would be little amending of the statutes inasmuch as the revised laws went into effect Jan. 1, 1902 having been gone over thoroughly by a competent commission appointed for that purpose in 1896, saying:

"It is more important that the law be permanently fixed and easily accessible than that experiments in new legislation should be constantly tried."

Referring to savings banks and national banks being controlled in many instances by the same person he declared:

"The statute of 1898 which was enacted as a remedial measure, did not appear to aid in the separation of these institutions, but operated rather to encourage the continuance of such connection where it existed,'

and he therefore recommended additional laws which would effectively prevent such control. He would go still further in order to protect the public and provide

"That no person holding the position of president or cashier of a national bank or trust company shall be eligible for the office or perform the duties of president or treasurer of a savings bank."

There were then in the Commonwealth 186 savings banks, with aggregate deposits of $560,000,000. This great amount of money is an important factor in the business life of the Commonwealth, and the institutions holding the same, Gov. Crane maintained, should be protected by every reasonable and proper safeguard. The number of depositors in the savings banks Nov. 1, 1901, was 1,593,640, so that the Governor was trying to throw safeguards around the savings of half the people of the State and encourage the others to become thrifty.

On that old time subject of State Commissions Gov. Crane said in his last inaugural that the authority imposed upon these boards and commissions had been in the main exercised wisely.

"The only fair criticism that can be made of the system," said he, "is the tendency to unnecessary multiplication; in other words, to the establishment of special commission to care for interests of a trivial character, which might properly be delegated to boards already in existence."

He recommended that certain commissions be abolished and their powers and duties be transferred to other existing boards.

The Legislature of 1902 was heavily Republican in both branches. Both of last year's presiding officers were reelected. This year Prince Henry of Prussia, brother of the Kaiser, visited Boston and the two Socialist members of the House protested the invitation of the Legislature to the distinguished visitor to meet the members of the Great and General Court in joint convention. The Prince came and his visit was

a most enjoyable one. Receptions, luncheons and dinners were crowded into the few hours that he remained in Boston and when he departed he left a wholesome impression among the people of the State.

During the hearings before the Committee on Constitutional amendments organized labor numbering 700 marched to the State House and asked that the committee report a bill which would allow on petition of 50,000 legal voters constitutional amendments be submitted to the people.

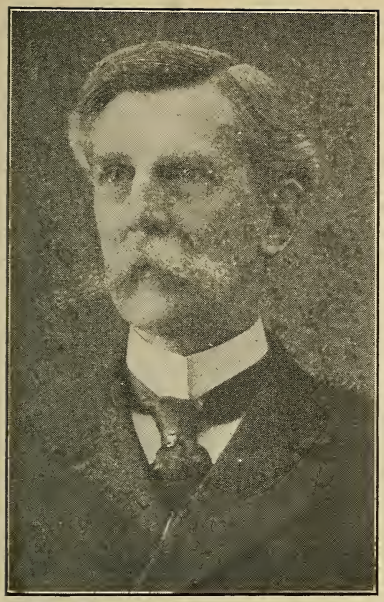
The Sunday laws were also tinkered again with a view of liberalizing them. Once more the Governor was authorized to name a tax commission to consider that subject. A bill was passed for the purpose of separating national banks and savings banks and officers of same were prohibited from holding offices in both classes of banks. The office of State Aid Commissioner was created merging the offices of Pension Agent and State Aid Agent. The duties of the Fire Marshal were transferred to the district police. Vaccination was made compulsory, and the speed of automobiles was regulated.

It was during Governor Crane's administration that the following enactment received his sanction:

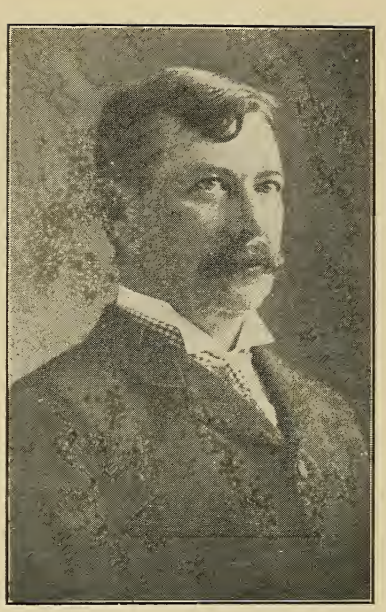
"The calender week beginning with the last Sunday of July in each year, designated as old home week, shall be set apart as a season during which the cities and towns may conduct appropriate celebrations in honor of returning sons and daughters of the Commonwealth."

Other bills which received his approval were: An enactment by which army nurses shall be eligible to receive State aid; a provision for the relief and burial of army nurses; a bill whereby every person is entitled to vote without loss of employment; a bill making it illegal for a person not a member of a labor union to wear any insignia of a labor union; an enactment allowing the sale of confectionery and soda on the Lord's Day; a provision for the burial of the indigent wives and widows of the Spanish war veterans; an enactment that all employes discharged shall be paid upon the next regular pay day. He also approved the bill for a 10-hour day and a 58-hour week for women and children employed in manufacturing and mercantile establishments.

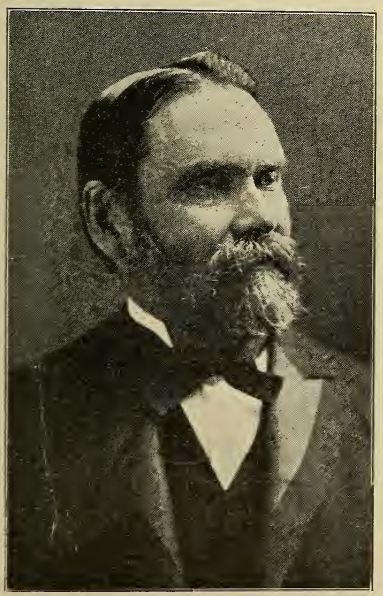
In 1902 President Roosevelt appointed Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the Massachusetts Supreme Court



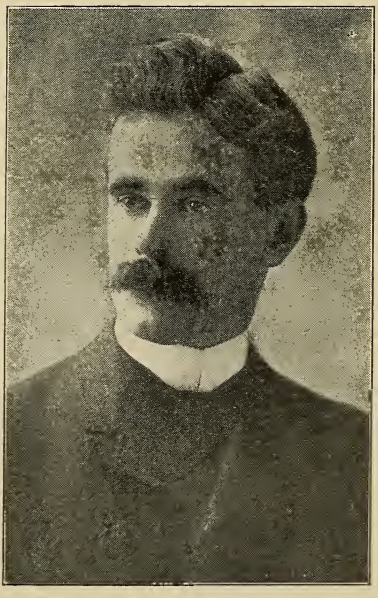
Judge Holmes.



Judge Moody.



Judge Knowlton.



Judge Murray.

to the Supreme Court of the United States. Judge Holmes is a son of the Poet Holmes, a jurist of high standing and inclined to lean to liberal interpretations of the laws. Massachusetts' loss was the Nation's gain and Justice Holmes has upheld the high reputation of Massachusetts in the highest court of the land. In place of Chief Justice Holmes, Gov. Crane named Justice Marcus P. Knowlton of Springfield. Mr. Knowlton was promptly confirmed and served for several years until failing eyesight compelled him to take advantage of the retirement act.

The Legislature authorized the appointment of three additional judges of the Superior Court and Gov Crane named Charles A. DeCourcey, Robert O. Harris, Lemuel L. Holmes. The bill for abolishing capital punishment was again defeated as was the bill giving preference to Spanish War veterans in the public service.

Quite a stir was caused when Gov. Crane refused for some time to surrender a negro criminal on the requisition of the Governor of North Carolina. The man was under indictment for arson. Leading members of the negro race protested against giving him up on the ground that if he were returned he would be lynched. Although the Governor of North Carolina had promised him protection against violence the fact that two lynchings had taken place under his administration they said proved that the negro could not get a fair deal if he were returned. There was a long hearing on the subject and after some further delay Gov. Crane finally honored the requisition.

In September, 1902, when President Roosevelt was completing his tour of New England, he visited Gov. Crane at the latter's residence in Dalton. While returning from a visit to the venerable Senator Dawes, at Pittsfield, and on the way to Stockbridge, where he was to again board his special train, the carriage containing the President, Gov. Crane, and Secretary Cortelyou, was struck by an electric car, resulting in the death of the President's personal body guard, seriously injuring the driver of the carriage, and throwing its occupants into the street. The President and Gov Crane received a severe shaking up but sustained no bruises. The motorman of the car, Luke J. Madden, was arrested and at his trial Gov Crane appeared as one of the

witnesses for the government. Madden was sentenced to a short term in jail.

President Roosevelt was anxious to get Mr. Crane to accept a place in his cabinet. He was offered the Treasury Department before Secretary Shaw was appointed. He also was tendered the place of Secretary of the Navy to succeed John D. Long. Both places he declined for business and family reasons.

Probably the most noteworthy act of Gov. Crane's administration was the settlement of the great teamsters' strike of March, 1902, a strike which threatened to tie up every commercial interest in the city. Every day of the strike meant thousands of dollars lost. For days he devoted himself to the task of relieving the situation. All his personal and official influence was brought to bear upon the leaders of both sides. Conferences at the State House were held daily. Both sides were for a time inexorable. But Gov. Crane's diplomacy won in the end. The striking teamsters and the railroad men returned to work and one of the greatest calamities that ever threatened Boston was averted. As a result of the Governor's success in settling the teamsters' strike, he was called to attend the meeting of the Pennsylvania coal operators and their striking operatives. Previous to this meeting, President Roosevelt conferred with Gov. Crane, and many of the latter's suggestions proved of assistance to the President in settling this great strike.

There were five tickets in the field that year for Governor. The Democrats nominated Col. William A. Gaston over Charles S. Hamlin after a sharp contest. Col. Gaston was the son of Gov. William Gaston who was elected as a Democrat in 1874 on the Prohibition issue. Gov. Gaston favored license. Mr. Hamlin, Col Gaston's opponent, was a popular Democrat and had been Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in the second Cleveland administration. The Bryan-Williams men were opposed to Gaston. Col. Gaston's friends controlled the convention and adopted a platform which had little sympathy with the Kansas City platform on which Bryan had run two years before. The Bryan men headed by George Fred Williams brought in a minority report on the resolution, but it was rejected.

The Republicans nominated John L. Bates and gave Curtis Guild, Jr., his old antagonist for second place three

years before, second place. The Republican platform was an unqualified endorsement of the Republican national platform. It commended the administration of President Roosevelt, also the administration of the retiring Governor.

John C. Chase was the candidate of the Socialists. Michael T. Berry of the Socialist-Labor party, William H. Partridge, of the Prohibitionists. The result of the election Nov. 2nd was another sweep by the Republicans, although Col. Gaston's vote was the largest the Democratic candidate had received since the party split of 1896. The vote was: Bates, Republican, 196,296; Gaston, Democrat, 158,155; Chase, Socialist, 33,629; Berry Socialist-Labor, 6079; Partridge, Prohibitionist, 3538. The Republicans chose 10 out of the 14 congressmen that year and notice of contest was served on the Congressman-elect John A. Keliher in the ninth district by his opponent, Congressman Joseph A. Conry, who was defeated for a renomination by Keliher in the primaries and ran as an Independent at the polls. Keliher was not disturbed by the House, but the contest stirred up a lot of feeling in Democratic political circles in Boston.

Henry L. Higginson, George H. Lyman, William Lawrence, Robert Winsor, William H. Lincoln, Charles F. Choate, Nathaniel Thayer, Eben S. Draper, Lucius Tuttle, Charles F. Adams, 2nd, Charles G. Washburn, and Francis H. Appleton, representing a large number of business men, asked Mr. Crane after he had retired from the governorship to accept a banquet from the business men of the state as a slight appreciation of his services while Governor. Mr. Crane declined, accepting the good will of those interested but asked them to forego the public expression of it.

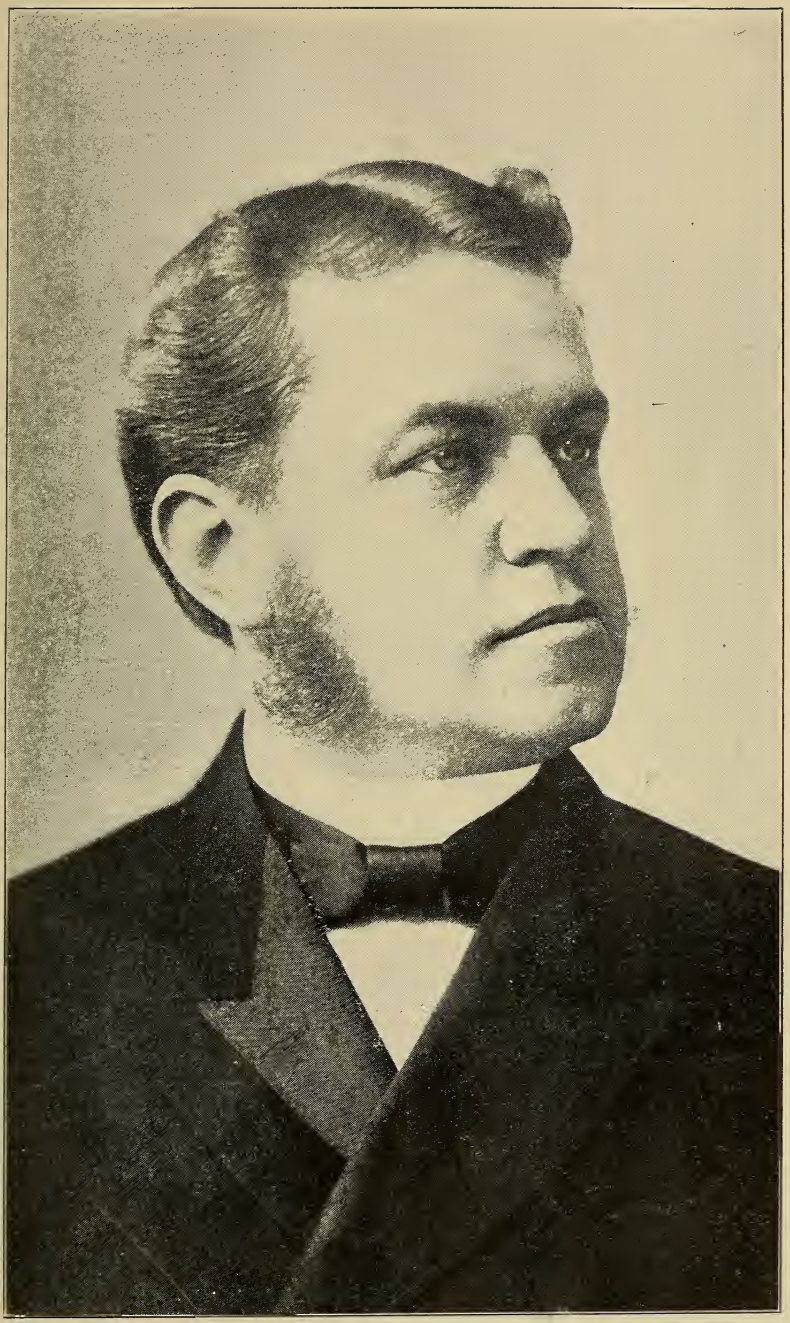
CHAPTER XIII

GOV BATES' FIRST TERM—CURTIS GUILD JR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR—BATES' RAPID RISE IN POLITICS.

THERE was a new deal in Republican State politics in the Fall of 1899, forced by the anti-machine men. When Lieut Gov Crane was moved up to the head of the State ticket, the organization leaders planned to nominate Curtis Guild Jr for second place but a new political factor had sprung up, a young representative from East Boston. He had made a good impression in the popular branch of the Legislature. When Speaker Meyers left the chair to become ambassador to Italy, this young East Boston man was elected to succeed him as presiding officer of the House. As Speaker he ruled the House with dignity and firmness.

The Speaker of an assembly like the House of Representatives is in a position to make friends among the members. In the course of two or three years in that position, if he plays his political cards shrewdly he will be able to count on many friends and supporters in every nook and corner of the State. If he is a good campaigner, he may organize these friends to promote his political plans. In this way the Speaker may build up quite an influential political machine. This is precisely what this young East Boston representative, John L. Bates, did when the question of nominating a candidate for Lieutenant Governor came up in the Fall of 1899.

"Who ever heard of an East Boston man trying to be nominated for Lieutenant Governor? Nonsense," observed certain critics who lived in the more exclusive and aristocratic sections of Boston. There was a lot of feeling against the State machine about this time. There is always a feeling against a political organization by the antis and every so often this feeling breaks into open rebellion. This feeling was manifesting itself when this contest began for second place on the Republican State ticket in 1899. Some of Mr. Bates' friends worked the Back Bay and Silk Stocking argu-



Governor Bates.

ment against his opponent, Curtis Guild Jr., but the truth was that Mr. Guild cared no more for ward 11 Republicans than he did for ward one Republicans. He was a gentleman, whose Republicanism was of the stalwart variety.

The contest for Lieutenant Governor waxed warmly and resulted in the nomination of Bates. Gov Crane gathered his running mate to his bosom and the two got along together for three years like turtle doves. Mr. Bates was a good organization man as soon as he was elected Lieutenant Governor and when the time came for Gov Grane to step aside after serving the customary three years, Mr. Bates was moved up with the full consent of the organization leaders. That was in the Fall of 1902. While Mr. Bates was moving up into first place on the State ticket, his former antagonist, Curtis Guild Jr. was stepping into the second place with no objection from Mr. Bates. And so the year 1903 on Beacon Hill began with Bates and Guild Governor and Lieutenant Governor, respectively.

Quite a rapid stride in a few years from a member of the Boston Common Council, to Representative, Speaker, Lieutenant Governor and Governor—with no great social or financial backing to aid him. Think of East Boston having a Governor! It was unthinkable by some Republicans. One prominent ward 11 voter—a very rich man and large owner of down town property was reported to have said that he would not vote for Bates because the latter was the man who put through the East Boston tunnel underneath one of his buildings at great cost to the rest of city! Gov Bates was the son of a Methodist minister who was beloved by East Boston people regardless of their religious affiliations. The Governor was born in North Easton. He came of good old Puritan stock.

The new administration was sworn in Jan 8, 1903. It was a great day for the Bates Republicans. His close friends were not of the highbrow order. Many of them were of the practical sort—men who could deliver their wards or cities or towns. They looked forward to the dawn of a new era of their political careers. Gov Bates paused at the outset of his inaugural address to acknowledge his indebtedness to the example of his immediate predecessors in office, Wolcott and Crane, and he added:

"It is pleasing to note at the beginning of our term of office that the condition of the people of the Commonwealth is in the main satisfactory. Our Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that labor is fully employed, and that the amount disbursed in wages is greater than ever before. Our Savings Bank Commissioners report that on October 31, last, our savings banks held to the credit of depositors $586,937,804.30, represented by 1,660,814 accounts with an average deposit to the credit of each account of $355.40; or an average of more than one account for every two persons in the commonwealth and an amount in the aggregate equal to more than $200 apiece for every man, woman and child within our borders. Our Prison Commissioners report that our prisons and reformatory institutions are not crowded, as they are when the times are adverse, and our Board of Health reports the health of the people as unsually good. It is probably within reason to say that, notwithstanding the unfortunate incidents connected with the coal famine, there never was a people at any time, or in any place, who, as a whole, were better supplied with healthful employment, or who received better wages, or to whom the necessaries and comforts of life were less rare, or whose environment was more encouraging, or whose opportunities for recreation and education were superior, or whose outlook was more hopeful, than that of the people of Massachusetts."

He suggested that the State boards and authorities in charge of construction of public works give such work to Massachusetts men and that citizens be employed thereon. He urged that the Legislature provide for suitable ceremonies for the dedication of the equestrian statue of Gen Hooker on the State House grounds and recommended a liberal appropriation for the State's representation at the St. Louis Exposition which was to mark the 100th anniversary of the Louisiana purchase under President Jefferson. The needs of additional legislation affecting public education, textile schools, the militia, the control of the foot and mouth disease among cattle, the need of additional accommodation for the insane, the more humane treatment of prisoners and their employment on waste lands, harbor improvements in Boston, and the abolition of the fee system were dwelt upon by the Governor.

Under the head of labor he said:

"This is pre-eminently an industrial Commonwealth, and upon the character and intelligence of those who are employed in our factories and workships, as well as upon their standard of living, the welfare of the entire community largely depends. Our legislation, intended to protect the workman in his employment, to safeguard his wage and to open the widest social opportunitiess, serves as a model for other commonwealths. With due regard to all the interests involved, there should be no lowering of this standard."

He advocated a party enrollment law, saying:

"It would seem to be just, to provide by legislation for an enrolment of the voters on party lines. such enrolment to be made by the public authorities, and sufficiently far in advance of a caucus as to be made under normal conditions, and with such provisions for a change in party enrolment as may be necessary to prevent errors and to permit the voter to fully exercise his free will. Such legislation will not only tend to the purity of the ballot at the primaries, but will also tend to fix party responsibility, which is of the greatest importance. No party can be held responsible for the candidates of its caucuses, if the choice of these candidates was rendered possible by the vote of those who were not members of the party, but who, nevertheless, under the prevailing system, were enabled to participate in its caucus and dictate its choice."

Gov Bates favored a limited referendum law on which subject he had this to say:

"Our fathers here established a representative form of government. In most matters that come before the General Court its members must take the responsibility and decide for the people. But it is not an attempt to shift the burden of responsibility for a legislature elected to make laws for a single year, to refer to the people of a special locality for their direct decision such matters as the granting of franchises where the people of that locality alone are to be affected, where their interests only are to be subserved, and where, as the result of such action, their welfare is concerned, not for one, but for many years. I am in entire accord with the views of those who believe that legislation in such cases would be referred for the approval or rejection of the voters of the community most interested."

On the question of home rule, the Governor observed that he believed in it, but when a community failed to do its duty the Legislature was bound to step in and see to it that the laws were properly enforced. He favored a tax for public franchises from corporations or individuals to which such privileges were granted.

"It seems to me that no franchise should hereafter be granted to such corporations except upon conditions, not restrictive or burdensome yet such as would insure just, direct compensation to the public for the privilege enjoyed," he said.

Under the head of corporate political influence, the Governor took a firm stand against public officials seeking favors from public service corporations saying:

"Public service corporations, rightfully managed are of great benefit to the people. But the interests of stockholders sometimes conflict with those of the public. It is important, therefore, that those representing the people should avoid placing themselves under obligations to such corporations. For years there has been a growing tendency on the part of certain public officials in state

and city governments to request employment of their constituents from such corporations.

"It is not to be presumed that in the majority of cases this has been done with any expectation on the part of the official that in seeking such favors he was placing himself under any obligation, such as would result in his either consciously or unconsciously regarding requests for legislation or other public concessions in a more favorable manner than he otherwise would.

"But that the custom has resulted, and necessarily must result in giving a hold upon men which is inconsistent with the entire freedom of their actions, when weighing conflicting interests, must be admitted. It is time for legislation that will prevent such use of labor patronage by making it an offence for any official to make or any corporation to grant directly or indirectly such a request."

He recommended a law compelling cities and towns to adopt a uniform system of municipal accounts and the consolidation of the office of controller of county accounts with the auditor's department. Because of the large amount of business before the courts Gov Bates recommended the appointment of two additional justices of the Superior Court, suggested reforms in procedure in the lower courts and expressed the opinion that it would be right and proper to transfer divorce cases to the probate court "where they seem to belong."

He followed up the suggestion of his predecessors to make the laws even more stringent than they were for the protection of those who had invested their savings in life insurance. He also recommended liberalizing the corporation laws of the State.

"Most of these statutes," said the Governor, "were enacted many years ago, when business operations were upon a very small scale, and when the state undertook to exercise strict control over the corporations which it chartered. This resulted in the imposition of many restrictions which have become burdensome. That this is so, is evidenced by the fact that it is becoming more and more common for our citizens to incorporate under foreign charters for the purpose of carrying on their business enterprises; while our domestic corporations, as they extend their operations, often feel compelled to surrender their charters, and reincorporate under the laws of some other jurisdiction.

"The corporate form today is essential in conducting large business enterprises; and our laws should be such that Massachusetts citizens can employ Massachusetts capital under a Massachusetts charter in any legitimate business, whether it be conducted within or without the borders of our state; and the taxation incident upon such incorporation should flow into our treasury, rather than into the treasuries of other states."

A special committee was recommended to consider what

action should be taken on a report on the subject submitted by a special committee authorized by the last Legislature on the subject. The Governor said that he believed that the time had come when more attention should be paid to the beautifying of the highways of the State, and particularly to the matter of planting trees and shrubbery. At slight additional expense such assistance could be given to nature that would result in highways famed not merely for the utility of their construction but also for their beauty.

Discussing the State debt, the Governor said that he had been informed that computations most carefully made indicated that there would be an immense saving under the serial payment plan.

Having dealt with the practical problems of State, the new Chief Executive allowed his fancy to turn back the pages of history. Hastily but eloquently he sketched a graphic word picture of some of the achievements of Massachusetts men who had written their names in the hall of fame and he asked those who were to share with him the management of the State to keep the latter's aims and their deeds in mind, saying:

"Senators and Representatives: It has been given to but few men to write their names prominently in our history. There were Carver and Bradford from Plymouth Rock; Endicott and Winthrop from Massachusetts Bay; there was Otis, who, from the peaceful forum of the Old South meeting-house, hurled his firebrands of revolution; there was Warren, whose blood helped to make our Bunker Hill; there was Lincoln, the trusted major-general of the great Washington; there were Phillips and Garrison, who awakened a nation's conscience into life; there was Webster, who wrote his name across the Constitution, and Sumner who wrote his across the human heart; there were Banks and Bartlett and Hooker, who commanded great hosts; there was Mann, who consecrated his life to the cause of education, and Howe, who opened the book of the world to the blind; there were Shaw the purist and Franklin the philosopher and Agassiz the naturalist; there was Morton who banished pain, and Morse who banished space; there were Bancroft and Prescott, who wrote the records of men; there was Emerson who thought, and Whittier and Holmes and Bryant and Longfellow who sang; and there were Edwards and Channing and Brooks who preached. But these were not Massachusetts. She is more than these; she is a living force; a vital factor in the affairs of men because she has stood for ideals and ventured all for principles. Would we serve her? It is not necessary to write our names in her hall of fame. We have but to be true to her ideals; to be faithful to the people's interests; to be watchful to protect them from insidious attacks, to recognize the rights of men, to 'call no man master, but to be slaves to principles ever.' With such our purpose we will

look confidently toward the future, praying that, as with our fathers, so with us may be the God of commonwealths."

The Legislature organized with James J. Meyers, of Cambridge Speaker of the House and George R. Jones of Melrose, President of the Senate.

During the session of the Legislature of 1903, 482 acts and 104 resolves were passed and received the approval of Gov Bates. Three acts and one resolve became laws without his signature not having been returned within the five days allowed by the constitution. Fourteen acts, all special laws were vetoed and the action of the Governor was upheld in each case. The Legislature was prorogued June 26, at 8:45 P. M., having occupied 171 days.

Resolutions on the deaths of three members of the House were adopted, also on the death of Ex-Senator Henry L. Dawes, who died during the session. Resolutions were adopted by both branches favoring legislation by Congress to protect the forests of the White Mountains by including them in a national park; permanent control and ownership of anthracite coal mines prompted by the country-wide suffering caused by the great coal mines strike; endorsing Senator Lodge's bill for the establishment of a library Post, pensions for persons in the U S Life Saving service and relative to the proposition to make Castle Island, Boston Harbor, a part of the city park system. One constitutional amendment was proposed, whereby on petition of 50,000 voters they may submit amendments to the State constitution.

Dr. William Everett, of Quincy, one of the original Mugwumps of this State and a unique character in the politics of Massachusetts died Feb 16, 1903. He had been in failing health for some years and had not participated in public affairs in the last years of his life. He was eccentric, independent and courageous and added spice to every campaign in which he participated.

John E. Russell died Oct. 22, 1903. In his death the Democracy of Massachusetts lost one of its ablest champions, and the State one of its most accomplished sons. He was a Democrat of the old school, a strict constitutionalist. He loved his books and his acres on the Leicester Hills too well to give them up for the drudgery of office holding. He might have graced the cabinet of Grover Cleveland or repre-

sented this country abroad, Mr. Cleveland having tendered him his choice of a portfolio in his cabinet or an important diplomatic post, but he did not court such honors or responsibilities. He preferred a place in the ranks, fighting for what he believed to be right and just. He was the last of that distinguished name in this generation to be enrolled in the service of his State and party.

His remains were borne back to his native town and tenderly laid beside those of his ancestors who were among the pioneers in the Deerfield Valley.

CHAPTER XIV

BATES RENOMINATED AND REELECTED—COL GASTON HIS DEMOCRATIC OPPONENT—BATES PARTS COMPANY WITH FORMER POLITICAL SUPPORTERS—APPOINTMENT OF JUDGE EMMONS POLICE COMMISSIONER UNPOPULAR.

IN THE Fall of 1903 the Republicans renominated Bates and Guild at the State convention October 2nd, held in Boston. Congressman Samuel L. Powers of Newton was the permanent chairman. The platform was read by Ex-Gov Crane. Mr. Crane, always brief and direct, his platform typified the man. It read as follows:

"The Republicans of Massachusetts in convention assembled, give their cordial endorsement to the administration of President Roosevelt.

"An able, honest, fearless chief executive, we pledge to him our loyal support for the campaign of 1904.

"We reaffirm our belief in the policy of protection to American industries. While admitting that tariff schedules should be revised from time to time, to meet changing industrial conditions or to secure the benefits which may be obtained by reciprocity, we declare that the present tariff law should not be revised or changed until the need of such action and the benefits to be obtained from it are clearly shown. Whenever industrial conditions shall require a readjustment of the tariff the work will be undertaken by the republican party, the friend and defender of protection, without unnecessary disturbance to business or commerce, and with fairness and justice to all American interests.

"To uphold law and order should be the first duty of every American citizen. In many sections of the country there is a disregard of law which is bringing discredit to the nation. All parties should insist that public officials should be firm and resolute in the enforcement of law, regardless of personal or political consequences. In this land dedicated to liberty and freedom, the rule of the mob should be suppressed.

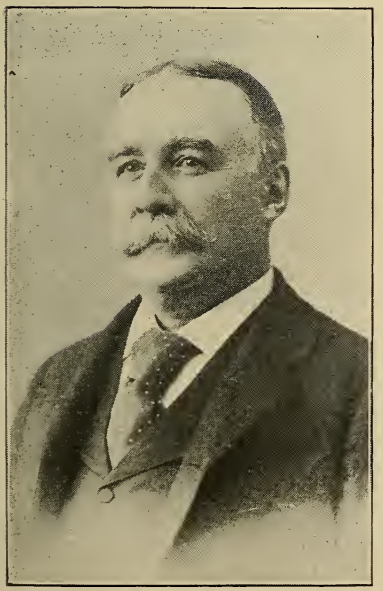
"The Republican party favors legislation that is just and fair to all interests; that encourages and protects the enterprises of capital and promotes and safeguards the welfare of labor.

"We heartily endorse the administration of Gov Bates, as able, safe and successful, and confidently submit it to the voters, for their approval at the election in November."

Chairman Powers spiced his speech with his wit at the expense of the Democrats and kept the delegates in the best

Charles S. Hamlin.

Col. William A. Gaston.



Charles S. Stratton.

Andrew J. Peters.

of humor by his stories illustrative of the points in his address.

"If it were not for our annual State Election we should rarely ever hear any adverse criticism of the manner in which the Republican party administers our State affairs," said Mr. Powers. "During two months in each year, just preceding the State election, the leaders of the minority party express bitter patriotic grief and shed copious political tears over a mismanaged and misguided Commonwealth. The grief however, of our Democratic friends is like that of the undertaker—'strictly professional.' Each year some new crusader, with the dauntless courage of a Navarre, leaps into the saddle of the old Democratic war horse and sounds the clarion trumpet, calling upon the voters to follow him to death, it may be, for the rescue of the dear old State from the political foes who seek her destruction.

"The charge is always spirited, but when the repulse comes it is always accompanied by such a philosophic resignation in the results of the battle that we are inclined to doubt somewhat the apparent sincerity of the appeal to arms, just before the onset. When some one once told Dr. Sam Johnson, the famous English philosopher, that a certain mutual friend had just married his third wife he calmly replied, 'That is a splendid illustration of the triumph of hope over experience.' So it is with our Democratic friends. Each year they come up smiling and hopeful from the defeat of the previous year, and furnish to the world another sublime example of the triumph of political hope over political experience."

Having arrived at that part of the convention proceedings when the nomination of candidates was in order the venerable Senator Hoar arose and renominated Gov Bates. It was the last State convention of his party the senior senator was to participate in. In placing Gov Bates in nomination for a second term Senator Hoar said:

"Mr. President I rise for a mere matter of routine. It is the good fortune of the Republican party that its matters of routine are always so delightful.

"There are two things the country confidently expects from Massachusetts. One is a handsome Republican majority in the coming election. The other is an example of wise and honest government throughout the coming year.

"We come here today to make both these things certain. It is our supreme good fortune that both these things are matters of course.

"Is not that party worth belonging to, in whose history wise and honest government, quiet, happiness, are commonplace?

"Everybody I think has been satisfied with Gov Bates. We expected from him a great deal. But he has risen to the demands of his high office beyond our highest expectations.

"I do not think there is a citizen of Massachusetts of any party who has read Gov Bates' State papers, or heard his addresses to the people on important occasions, without being delighted and surprised to see how he has filled the stature and the demands of

his great office. He has not only given us some examples of excellent English, but he has shown that he fully comprehends the proper use of the Latin word *veto*.

"There was one act of legislation last winter of which any considerable criticism is heard. As our Democratic brethren selected the principal author of that statute, day before yesterday, as the best man they could find to declare the doctrine of a pure democracy, we anticipate no considerable objection from them on that account.

"I suppose all of us will look with some anxiety to see whether they have let down the bars in the matter of protecting the public from dishonest and fraudulent use of corporate power. If experience shall show that any mistake has been made, we can depend upon the parties who united in making it, to unite in correcting it.

"I, therefore, Mr. President, move that His Excellency John L. Bates, be nominated by acclamation, for the office of Governor of the Commonwealth for the coming year."

The Democrats renominated Col. Gaston and John C. Crosby for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, respectively. Col Gaston proved that he was a vote getter. His strength compelled the Republicans to call out their reserves the year before. The Republican leaders, aware of Bates' weakness with certain Republicans and Gaston's strength among business men, made the campaign of 1902 and 1903 largely personal contests against Col Gaston calling attention to his banking, street railway and gas interests. But the Republicans did not have to do this alone. The Williams Democracy, smarting under defeat in the convention of 1902 when they lined up against Gaston for Hamlin charged that the Democratic State leaders sold out the party to the corporations and that certain public corporations with which Col Gaston was connected supplied the campaign funds. The work of Gaston and his friends in organizing the Democrats of the State was effective and his vote of the year before showed that there was a steadily growing opposition to the Republicans and that once more the Democracy which had been buried time and time again was showing signs of real life.

Gov. Bates' first year in office was not a happy one. Several of those who had been among his most active friends in placing him in the Governor's chair were disappointed and in open rebellion. The first serious split came when these men urged him to name their choice for chairman of the Boston Police Board in place of Robert F. Clark whose term expired in 1902. The Governor declined to do so and selected

a personal friend and neighbor, Judge Emmons, of the East Boston district court. Emmons' appointment was not popular.

The Governor instructed the State police to see to it that pool selling at horse races was stopped. That aroused further opposition to him. In the midst of the campaign a prominent lawyer and ex-member of the Legislature took the Democratic stump and charged that Gov. Bates had borrowed money from an insurance lobbyist, Walter J. Holden, who had been one of Gov. Bates' most enthusiastic backers in his contest for Lieutenant Governor and Governor. Photographic copies of the checks drawn by Holden to the order of Bates were exhibited. The charge created a sensation. The Governor acknowledged that he had borrowed $3000 of Holden to pay some of his campaign debts, but that he had repaid the loan with 6% interest in a short time. He declared that Holden had vowed vengeance on him when he refused to appoint a prominent military man Police Commissioner of Boston at the former's request and that Holden was working with his political enemies to defeat him.

The public generally believed Gov. Bates' statement, but the feeling was that he erred in accepting financial assistance from a prominent member of the Third House, a representative of a corporation likely to be seeking legislation on which the Chief Executive would be called upon to pass judgment, the very thing he admonished the members of the Legislature in his inaugural address and suggested that a law be passed prohibiting such relations between corporations and lawmakers. The Governor was the object of a good deal of sympathy and his supporters felt that he had been tricked by a smart politician.

The Democrats felt that the check exposure, Judge Emmons' administration of the Boston police, and the enforcement of the anti-pool selling law would cost Bates a lot of votes. The Republicans seeing that they had a hard fight on hand redoubled their efforts and pulled the head of the ticket through with a plurality of 35,000. The dwindling Republican plurality for Governor was evidence that the Republicans were heading for the political toboggan. The failure of Col Gaston to win on his second try disappointed him and his friends.

For the second time Gov Bates took the oath of office

as Chief Executive of the State on January 7, 1904. His inaugural was a long one, the chief recommendations and points in it being:

"Continued state support of textile schools.

"The first duty of every educational board, State or Municipal should be to make certain that the youth under it are educated in the essentials that will make them self-supporting, effective men and women.

"Civil Service—The civil service commissioners suggest that a law be enacted which shall regulate the removal of persons in the classified service, and I commend the suggestion to your consideration.

"Fees—I renew my recommendations of last year for legislation to provide for the consolidation of the department of the Controller of County Accounts with that of the Auditor, for the adoption of a uniform system of municipal accounting throughout the Commonwealth, and for the paying of all fees received by salaried officers into the treasury of the State, county or municipality, as the case may be.

"New Corporation Law—Act is working well but it should be given further trial before it is amended.

"Metropolitan Thoroughfares—I suggest that an unpaid commission be appointed to examine the process of transportation within the metropolitan district, and report upon the feasibility of establishing some joint agency having authority to plan and control the future development of main thoroughfares and passenger railways, with a view to securing the maximum of efficiency, economy and convenience.

"National Encampment G. A. R. in Boston, 1904—I ask the Legislature to make some provision for the entertainment of the gray-headed men who, in the dawn of their manhood, carried the guns that defended the homes of Massachusetts.

"Right of Women to vote—I recommend that you grant to women the right to vote for municipal officers. If, after trial, the results are not satisfactory, the Legislature can repeal the law; and in this connection I call your attention further to the fact that the municipal governments of Great Britain, where women, although not eligible to office, have the right to vote under certain conditions, do not suffer by comparison with the municipal governments of America.

"Manufactures—It behooves us to at all times keep in mind the fact that any legislation which tends to place unreasonable restrictions upon the employer tends with equal certainty to work hardship to the employee.

"Trust Companies—Two years ago a commission was directed to investigate and report a general law for the formation of trust companies. You will soon receive the report of that commission. I believe it to be time for the adoption of such a law.

"Executive Responsibility—Were we to contrast the State with the National system, with the experience of the Federal government before us, we should unquestionably favor the National system, where responsibility is fixed in the President, and where that responsibility is made possible by giving to him the power of appointing the heads of the chief departments of State.

"A year's experience convinces me that there have been other

restrictions placed upon the Executive, which not only were not demanded by the Constitution, but are probably inconsistent with it, in so far as they have resulted in taking away that executive power which the Constitution contemplates the Executive shall have, and have vested it in various commissions and boards which are not responsible to him, nor to the people, nor to the General Court except as the latter may control them by legislation."

The Legislature of this year was divided politically as follows: Senate, Republican 31; Democrats 9; House, Republicans 155; Democrats 82; Socialists one. There were ties in Franklin and Suffolk Counties. Louis A. Frothingham of Boston was chosen Speaker, succeeding James J. Meyers of Cambridge who retired at the end of his fourth term. George R. Jones of Melrose was re-elected President of the Senate.

The General Court was prorogued Thursday, June 9 at 9.49 P. M., having been in session 156 days. 460 acts and 110 resolves were passed and received the approval of the Governor. He vetoed 14 acts, most of them affecting Boston. Among the most important acts passed were those establishing the school for Crippled and Deformed children, transferring the powers and duties of the Fire Marshal's office to the State police, making the number of Aldermen in the city of Boston 13 instead of 12 and dividing the city into 13 aldermanic districts, taxing coupons, stamps, etc., used in the sale of merchandise, a new charter for the city of Pittsfield, an act relative to the expense of candidates for public office, an act relative to the instruction of prisoners, an act relating to children bound out in families, another relative to the powers and duties of the bar examiners and the admission of attorneys at law to practice, incorporation of the Y. M. C. A. Evening law school and the amending of the caucus laws.

Rev. Edmund Dowse, who had been for 25 years chaplain of the Senate resigned. That body passed an appropriate resolve in recognition of his long and faithful services and elected in his place Rev. Dr. Edward A. Horton. Resolutions were also adopted by the House on the death of Marcus A. Hanna, late chairman of the Republican National Committee.

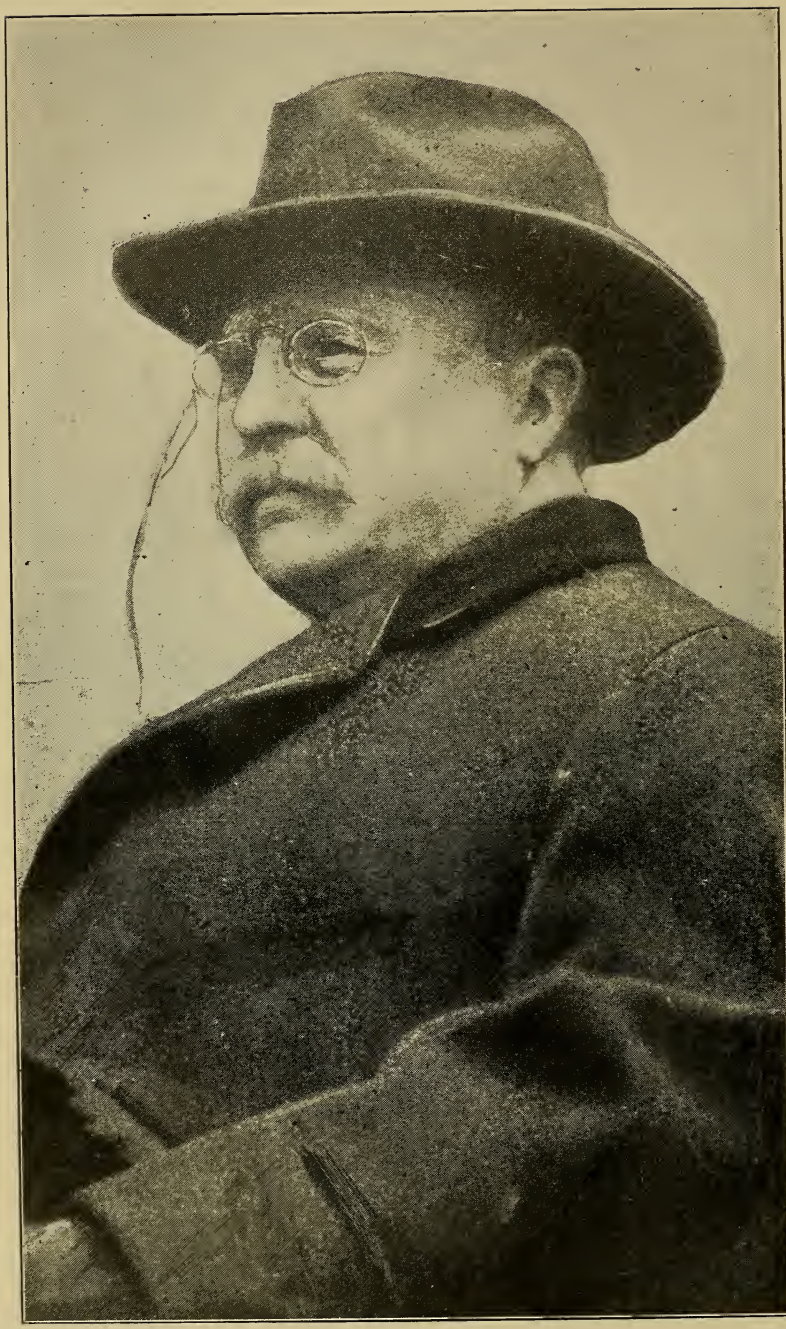
The Legislature authorized the appointment of two additional Superior Court judges and Gov. Bates named Lloyd E. White and Lorance E. Hitchcock.

In the Fall of 1904 Judge Phelps of the Lee Police Court imposed a fine of $25 on Hugh Gurney, third secretary of the

British Embassy at Washington for overspeeding an automobile in Lee. Gurney refused to plead whereupon Judge Phelps ordered a plea of "not guilty" to be entered and fined the British attache $25 for contempt of court on the ground that he defied the authority of the court by his language and demeanor. Gurney appealed to the British ambassador and the case was laid before the State department. It created a tempest in the diplomatic tea pot and was the subject of long despatches between Washington and London. Judge Phelps was only a trial justice—not even a lawyer and he was not aware that members of the diplomatic corps were immune from arrest. The Secretary of State demanded an explanation from Gov Bates. The Governor apologized for the Judge's mistake, and the Judge, through Gov. Bates and the State Department made amends to Mr. Gurney.

The Governor did not mince words though in referring to the violation of the law of the Commonwealth by the British third secretary. In dignified yet pointed language he suggested that the attention of the Ambassador of his Britannic Majesty be invited to the breach of the laws of the State and the incident was closed. While the excitement lasted the gold laced colony in Washington and the State Department treated the amusing incident as if it might lead to war.

The dedication of the fine equestrian statue of Gen. Joseph Hooker, one of the noted Union commanders during the Civil War, a native of Massachusetts, took place during the administration of Gov. Bates as did the annual encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic.



President Roosevelt.

CHAPTER XV

NATIONAL AND STATE CAMPAIGNS 1904—ROOSEVELT'S NOMINATION—DEMOCRATS TURN FROM BRYAN TO PARKER—BAY STATE DEMOCRATS URGE OLNEY'S NOMINATION —HEARST'S LOSING FIGHT.

DEMOCRATS and Republicans named their delegates to their National Conventions in April. The former chose as their four delegates-at-large, Patrick A. Collins and Col. William A. Gaston of Boston, William L. Douglas of Brockton and John R. Thayer of Worcester. The Bryan men with George Fred Williams as leader made a determined fight for Hearst delegates but the Conservatives were in the saddle, and the most the Bryan-Hearst men could muster when they counted noses in the State convention was 270 votes, cast for Williams. George E. McNiel, one time prominent in labor circles, Joseph A. Smith and Charles A. Dean with Williams made up the Bryan-Hearst slate. Williams had for his floor lieutenant in convention for the choice of delegates Mayor John P. Feeney of Woburn.

Into the trained hands of Charles S. Hamlin, Guy W. Currier, Josiah Quincy and James B. Carroll, the Gaston or Conservative forces placed their fortunes for the day. John J. Flaherty of Gloucester was made permanent chairman of the convention. In his address Mr. Flaherty steered clear of the fight over National delegates and began his speech with this tribute to the New England Democracy, saying:

"You will pardon me if I devote a few words to an accusation of the Republicans—a lack of patriotism and public spirit on the part of the Democrats of this country. I do not pretend, of course, to speak for the Democrats of this great Nation. That has already been done by men far more eloquent than I. But whenever I hear those accusations made, I turn almost instinctively to those inspiring words of Henry Grady: 'The best product of New England is the procession of 17,000 Vermont Democrats that for 22 years, undiminished by death, unrecruited by birth or conversion, have marched over their rugged hills, cast their Democratic ballots and marched home to pray for their unregenerate neighbors, and awoke to read the record of 26,000 Republican majority.'"

At the conclusion of the presiding officer's address the

convention proceeded to vote for the four delegates-at-large and four alternates. The resolutions were reported by James B. Carroll endorsing Richard Olney for the Democratic presidential nomination concluding as follows:

"We hereby instruct the delegates and alternates chosen to attend the National convention at St. Louis, by this convention and by the congressional district conventions, to place in nomination the name of Richard Olney as the choice of Massachusetts for the Democratic nomination for President, and we further instruct said delegates and alternates to cast the vote of Massachusetts as a unit for him in the convention until the nomination shall be made, or his name shall be withdrawn by authority."

When that part of the resolutions were read instructing the delegates to vote for Olney the Hearst men in the convention shouted "No". This element presented a minority report through John A. Coulthurst, the final clause of which endorsed William Randolph Hearst for the Democratic presidential nomination. Through his newspaper, the Boston American, and his political lieutenants, Mr. Hearst conducted a noisy campaign for delegates. Most of them had been prominent in the Bryan campaign. Mr. Bryan favored the nomination of Mr. Hearst this year. The latter had enthusiastically supported the Nebraskan in 1896 and 1900.

The Hearst men entered an emphatic protest against instructing the delegates. After a half dozen of them had spoken Mr. Williams got the floor and opposed the resolution instructing the delegates for Olney. In the course of his speech Mr. Williams prophesied that if the resolution were passed, there would be a contest on the question before the National convention. He argued that the State convention had no right to instruct the district delegates, several of whom he declared favored another candidate. The Olney men were in control and the majority report of the committee on resolutions was adopted. The unit rule was also voted on motion of Josiah Quincy, but before the vote Mr. Williams entered a vigorous protest. He advised the district convention to adopt resolutions denouncing the "usurpation" of the State convention.

When the delegation met to organize before their departure for the National convention they dislodged Mr. Williams from his position on the National committee and elected Col. Gaston to that office. Gen. Collins was elected chairman of the delegation.

Mr. Williams preceded the Massachusetts delegation to St. Louis, the convention city. He found that the delegates and most of the Democratic leaders were bent on ignoring Bryan. Mr. Bryan must have realized that his own influence in 1904 had greatly diminished from that of 1900 and 1896, when he dominated both gatherings of his party. Leader after leader denied their old master. Staunch political lieutenants of former battles deserted him. It was, indeed, a trying time for Mr. Bryan. Some politicians under similar circumstances would have fled the scene, but Mr. Bryan remained until the last shot had been fired. He kept his temper. He was primed for a contest in the committee on resolutions for his political principles, but he was willing to abandon a specific 16 to 1 declaration for the sake of harmony. It was apparent that the convention would nominate Judge Parker of New York and that it would refuse to be guided in any matter of importance by the twice nominated candidate for President.

The promised contest before the National committee regarding the Massachusetts instructions did not materialize at St. Louis and on the first ballot the 32 votes of Massachusetts were cast for Richard Olney under the unit rule. It should be said in justice to Mr. Olney that he never encouraged his followers to believe that he could be or would be nominated and he was reluctant to allow the use of his name, but having given it he allowed his friends to present his claims to the convention. The Olney boom got little encouragement outside its native heath. It was gingerly handled by those to whom it had been entrusted. Its exchequer was limited and there was no attempt to make a big splurge at the convention city. The truth was that no considerable number of delegates outside Massachusetts took the Olney movement seriously. Everybody spoke highly of the ex-Secretary of State, admired him as a man and praised his steadfast democracy, but the day had passed when either of the two leading parties contemplated nominating a New Englander for Chief Magistrate.

When Gen Collins left Boston he carried in his pocket a letter written by Mr. Olney withdrawing from the contest to be used in his discretion, but the delegation insisted on Olney's nomination and also on voting for him. Gen Collins carried out their wishes. The letter of withdrawal written by

Mr. Olney was never made public. Gen Collins' speech placing Mr. Olney in nomination was as follows:

"Massachusetts has the honor to present the name of her most distinguished son, her most eminent statesman, her foremost Democrat, Richard Olney. We do not name him as a mere citizen of Massachusetts, but as a citizen of the United States of America. We do not claim him as exclusively our own, for he belongs to the great Militant Democracy of the whole Union. He is yours as well as ours.

"I am aware of the tradition, the contention, and the claim that only states whose electoral votes are in doubt should venture to present a candidate. But while the country is divided into states for administrative purposes and conveniences we are still one people, and above all no surveyor's line divides the Democracy into sections. A Massachusetts Democrat is as good as the best in New York or Texas or Missouri.

"The Democrats of the Union are entitled to nominate their strongest man wherever his cradle was rocked, and the people of the Republic are entitled to their choice regardless of the domicile of their candidates. Under the narrow rule Jefferson and Jackson and other great Democrats who shed lustre on the presidency would have been denied room and the country have been robbed of their services had they lived in Oregon or Massachusetts. When all is said and done, Democrats vote the Democratic ticket, no matter where their candidate lives.

"Gentlemen of the Convention, break the old tradition now and come to Massachusetts. We do not introduce Mr. Olney to this convention, to this country, or to the world. He has written his name in imperishable characters in the annals of the Republic, and no history of international relations will ever be printed without a shining page for Richard Olney. If nominated, he can be elected, for the country wants a steady hand like his to steer the ship of state to the safe anchorage of the Constitution, and when elected he can write his name high on the scroll which bears only the names of men who have been supremely useful to this free people."

Parker was nominated on the first ballot. Mr. Olney had 38 out of 1000 votes in the convention. Parker had 669 and Hearst 194. The six votes Mr. Olney received outside of this State came from Maine 4, Nebraska 1, Oklahoma 1.

The Massachusetts member of the committee on resolutions was Charles S. Hamlin. Mr. Hamlin was particularly well qualified for the position. As Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under John G. Carlisle in the second Cleveland administration he gained a thorough knowledge of the money question. He declined to support Bryan and Free Silver in 1896 and stumped the State for the Gold Democratic National and State tickets. The St. Louis platform as reported and adopted by the convention was silent on the money question.

After Judge Parker had been nominated and learning that

the platform had not taken a stand on the money question the nominee sent a telegram to William C. Sheehan, of New York, his personal representative in St. Louis, which read as follows:

"I regard the gold standard as firmly and irrevocably established and shall act accordingly if the action of the convention today shall be ratified by the people.

"As the platform is silent on the subject, my views should be made known to the convention, and if it is proved to be unsatisfactory to the majority, I request you to decline the nomination for me at once, so that another may be nominated before adjournment.

(Signed) A. B. Parker."

It was a bold thing to do but Judge Parker felt that it was the only course open to him, a sound money man. The reception of the telegram created a sensation when it was read in the convention. There was a heated discussion over the attitude of the nominee and as to what course the convention should pursue in the matter. The discussion lasted for hours. It was finally voted to send the following telegram to Mr. Parker:

"The platform adopted by this convention is silent on the question of the monetary standard, because it is not regarded by us as a possible issue in this campaign, and only campaign issues were mentioned in the platform.

"Therefore there is nothing in the views expressed by you in the telegram just received which should preclude a man entertaining them from accepting a nomination on said platform."

Charles S. Hamlin who was a member of the sub-committee of the committee on resolutions, made a three-minute, forceful speech in the convention during the debate on the Parker telegram.

Mr. Hamlin stood out in the committee on resolutions longer almost than any other man in favor of a recognition of the gold standard. He had seriously contemplated introducing a minority report and had been urged by members of the Massachusetts delegation, particularly by Col. Gaston, to present in a minority report a gold standard plank. He was persuaded, however, almost against his better judgment, to stand with the other members of the committee against any reference to the money question. In his speech in which he advised sending the telegram to Judge Parker he explained why no minority report had been presented.

The convention decided to allow the platform to stand

as adopted. The Massachusetts delegates got into line with the rest and nominated Henry Gassaway Davis of West Virginia for Vice President and returned home feeling that they had at last succeeded in shaking off Bryan and his radical political ideas, for a while at least.

The Massachusetts delegation to the Republican National convention at Chicago this year was a representative body. The four delegates-at-large were Senator Lodge, chairman, ex-Gov. Long, ex-Gov. Crane and Col. Everett C. Benton. The President was to be nominated by acclamation but there was a lively contest for Vice President. Very few Republicans doubted the success of the ticket they would name at Chicago. Prosperity abounded and the party leaders felt cocksure of a continuance of Roosevelt in office four more years.

Mark Hanna the departed Republican chieftain was not forgotten at the gathering. A large portrait of him back of the presiding officer's chair was the only picture in the hall. The National committee honored its departed chairman by excluding all other portraits. The banner of the Boston Home Market Club hung high upon one of the end walls, proclaiming the doctrine of "American wages for American workingmen; the American markets for the American people and the protection of American homes."

Coupled with this banner was a reminder by these high priests of protection that both Harrison and McKinley were twice nominated under the selfsame fold.

It was the first convention of the Republican party since its formation that Ohio did not have a candidate to offer for the presidency. Elihu Root was temporary presiding officer. That the delegates had not forgotten the services of Mark Hanna for the party was proven when the call for the convention was read signed by the late chairman of the Republican National committee. In the time intervening between the issuing of the call to the meeting of the convention Mr. Hanna died.

Senator Lodge was the personal choice of President Roosevelt as chairman of the committee on resolutions and on the second day of the proceedings when he stepped upon the stage with his White House inspired typewritten platform he read it in an impressive manner evoking frequent and hearty applause. Twenty years before Mr. Lodge and

Mr. Roosevelt as delegates sat in the convention of 1884 in the same city.

What a change had come over the political fortunes of both in two decades! In 1884 both were young and inexperienced in public affairs. The nomination suited neither of them. Many of their personal friends bolted the nomination and joined the Mugwump movement in that memorable campaign. Lodge and Roosevelt were not enthusiastic over Blaine, but they remained regular. It would seem as if it paid to maintain one's party regularity.

Ex-Governor Long was one of the committee named to escort Speaker Cannon from the Illinois delegation to the platform where Mr. Cannon received the gavel from Mr. Root and piloted the convention proceedings from that out.

"Uncle Joe" got a splendid reception and he proceeded to deliver his speech. His Western style of oratory caught the fancy of the immense throng and the famous old Roman, about the last representative in public life of a hardy race of pioneers who founded and built up the Commonwealths of the great West, never appeared to better advantage than he did at this convention deriding the Democrats and praising his own party. The ticket Roosevelt and Fairbanks was unanimously nominated and all records broken for smoothness and harmony.

Mr. Roosevelt was the first Republican Vice-President to be nominated for President and the first Vice-President to be nominated for President by any leading party since Martin van Buren, nearly 70 years before, for Millard Fillmore was only the choice of the "Knownothings" and John C. Breckenridge of a faction of the Democrats. Martin van Buren owed his nomination to his alliance with the all-powerful Jackson.

One more precedent was violated by this convention. It was the first time that the Republican party went to the State of New York for a presidential candidate. William H. Seward in 1860, Roscoe Conkling in 1876 and Chester A. Arthur in 1884 were rejected. Thus Mr. Roosevelt had done what they could not do. The Republican party never but once before when it nominated Blaine had crossed the Alleghenies for a standard bearer, and then it went to defeat. This precedent was to be broken by Mr. Roosevelt at the polls in

November. The ticket was satisfactory to Massachusetts Republicans.

Roosevelt carried the State in November by over 90,000, the vote being Roosevelt, 257,822, Parker 165,712. Of the 13 Congressman elected three only were Democrats. On local issues the electors reversed themselves electing Douglas the Democratic candidate for Governor over Bates on a vote divided thus: Douglas, Democratic, 234,700; Bates, Republican, 198,681; J. Q. A. Adams, Socialist, 10,391; Cobb, Prohibitionist, 3,156; Berry, Socialist Labor, 2,002.

The Legislature elected was heavily Republican. In the Senate only six Democrats were elected against 34 Republicans. For the lower house, 69 Democrats and 171 Republicans were elected.

Gov. Bates' appointment of Judge Emmons of East Boston, an old friend and neighbor, as chairman of the Boston Police Board was a very unpopular move. Judge Emmons was a good man personally but he attempted to run a cosmopolitan city like a little back country village and the public rebelled. The Governor's veto of the Overtime bill was another issue in the campaign, which cost him a lot of votes. Organized labor was up in arms over this matter and flocked to the standard of the Democratic candidate, William L. Douglas of Brockton, who had the reputation of treating his shoemakers well.

Many practical politicians who had helped Bates beat the Republican machine candidate for Lieutenant Governor and whooped it up for him as a candidate for Governor took delight in knifing him because he had refused to do their bidding when he was elected Governor. Some of these men felt that he had without cause turned his back on them and they took keen pleasure in his defeat. One of Gov Bates' old political backers remarked after election that the Governor had exchanged his friendship of these men for a bowing acquaintance with the Nabobs of the Republican party, with the result that he had gone down to defeat.

A story is told that after Gov Bates had been defeated he called up one of these old friends and suggested a reconciliation to which the latter replied: "There is no difference between us, my dear Governor. I have absolutely no feeling against you. I took as much pleasure in your defeat as Gov-

ernor as I did in your election." Another exclaimed that at last he was convinced that there was a God in Israel.

The Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor, John C. Crosby of Pittsfield, was beaten by Lieut Gov Curtis Guild Jr the Republican candidate by 30,000 plurality. The vote was: Guild, 214,788, Crosby, 184,082.

CHAPTER XVI

GOV BATES' THIRD NOMINATION AND DEFEAT—COL GASTON DECLINES TO RUN AGAIN—WILLIAM L. DOUGLAS, DEMOCRAT, ELECTED GOVERNOR

AFTER the adjournment of the Legislature and the holding of the National conventions, the political leaders began to plan for the State campaign. The Republican program was the renomination of their old State ticket, Bates and Guild. They had not as yet departed from their time honored custom of according the Governor three successive terms — the act of succession, some called it.

It was generally believed that Col Gaston would again be the candidate of the Democrats. He had done a lot of organizing work and the Democrats were more united than they had been since the days of Cleveland and Russell. Gaston's friends were in a majority on the State committee and he had just been elected National Committeeman from Massachusetts. The Presidential candidate, Judge Parker, was satisfactory to him, but he didn't like the way things were run at local headquarters. The latter officials resented Col Gaston's establishment of independent campaign headquarters the year before from which his contest for Governor was directed. It did not look as if the chairman of the State Committee would consent to a reorganization of that body without a row and that Col Gaston did not desire. He felt that the party had had all the quarrelling the voters would stand for and announced that he would not run again. He and his friends, on looking over the field, determined to support William L. Douglas of Brockton, a large shoe manufacturer, a life-long Democrat and a man who had always shown a friendly interest in party affairs.

The State convention accordingly nominated Douglas for Governor and John C. Crosby of Pittsfield for Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Douglas' nomination was popular. He was not objectionable to the radical wing of the Democracy and he was on good terms with the labor organizations. Mr. Douglas had been for years a large advertiser in the news-

papers. He believed in advertising. It sold his shoes. His picture always accompanied his shoe "ads." The chances are that had the question been submitted to the people of the State who was the best known citizen of Massachusetts the Democratic gubernatorial candidate would have won over Lydia Pinkham or Father John, whose benign countenances have for years adorned the newspapers and periodicals of the land "top of column, next to reading matter."

Everybody felt that they knew the Democratic gubernatorial candidate of 1904. His face was familiar to them, but Mr. Douglas took no chances. His campaign advertisers covered the dead walls of the State with his photograph and a picture of his immense shoe factory together with catchy campaign reading matter. The newspapers were not slighted. At last, the Democrats had hit the right idea. Never before had they nominated a candidate for Governor who was in a position to get so many favorable newspaper notices. Mr. Douglas was a good customer of the press and the press ought not to be expected to offend a big advertiser any more than the grocer or the provision dealer would knowingly offend a good customer, notwithstanding the impossible ideals set by press uplifters who have had little or no practical experience in running a newspaper.

Gov Bates' veto of the Overtime bill offended the labor men and they flocked to the Democratic standard. Under the proposed law no woman or minor under 18 years could work in any factory more than 10 hours a day except to make up for time lost through the breaking of machinery on a previous day of the same week, or to make up time so that a Saturday half holiday might be had. The labor leaders claimed that the law was not lived up to and sought to compel employers to do so. They organized "Flying Wedges" and went after the Governor's political scalp with vengeance.

Douglas made but few speeches and didn't waste time or money on either Parker, the Presidential candidate or his running mate for Lieutenant Governor. It was a personally conducted campaign for and by Mr. Douglas. He paid the freight and felt that he had the right to limit the number of passengers.

It was soon evident that Gov Bates was pulling against a strong head tide. Judge Emmons and the Overtime bill were proving a heavy load for the lone oarsman. Former

supporters aided and abetted the Democratic candidate. The chilly Fall River reception of the Governor indicated what was going to happen at the polls.

Other mill centers showed their chagrin over the veto of the Overtime bill. Almost invariably Fall River could be counted upon to accord the Republican candidate for Governor a cordial reception, but from the moment that Gov Bates stepped off the train until he left that city on his campaign visit, there were unmistakable signs of a revolt among the mill operatives of that city. The parade of the Republican Club and affiliated organizations was the smallest in years and when the Governor took his seat on the platform of the hall where the meeting was held, there were hisses and cat calls. Such a popular politician as Congressman Green of that city was continually interrupted in his speech introducing the Chief Executive. So unruly was the audience that one man felt obliged to rise and appeal for a respectful hearing for the speakers.

The Governor faced the music manfully, but he must have realized that he could not expect to convert his hostile audience. He sketched the record of the Republican party on labor legislation, told of the advanced ground the party had taken in the interest of the working people and then went into the details of the Overtime bill. He had no apology, he said, to offer for his course in vetoing the Overtime bill and he declared that the gain for labor as proposed by the measure would have been very slight.

"Not only have the labor leaders who have condemned the Governor for vetoing this pernicious bill failed to induce their candidate for Governor to say that he would have signed the bill, but they have also in their misrepresentations claimed that the Democratic candidate for Governor had never been anything but a friend to labor organizations," said Gov. Bates.

"Now it so happens that before the Democratic candidate for Governor surrendered to the labor organizations he waged with them one of the most bitter labor fights ever waged in this Commonwealth. Let me now invite your attention for a moment to it.

"I do not know whether he was right or wrong in his attitude, but I do know that the record illustrates the inconsistency and the misrepresentation of the men who were fighting him then and who are now advocating his candidacy."

There were many other indications in the campaign that the electorate was getting ready for a change in their Chief Executive. The Republican managers worked hard but they

were unable to stop the outgoing political tide. The independent vote stalked abroad.

Everything seemed to be going the Democrats' way. Douglas' splendid business record helped him with the monied men. The party was united for him. Several years previous he had served in the House and Senate. He was popular in his own section and the Democrats all over the State turned to him as their Moses. He left the local issues involved to his party associates. The few speeches he made dealt with the broader issue of the tariff. Mr. Douglas was in favor of free raw materials especially leather. The Republicans charged him with being a free trader but the issue was not free trade, it was Douglas vs. Bates.

Mr. Douglas set up his own campaign bureau and advertising organization, but he managed to keep both camps within his own party good natured. Labor's "Flying Wedges" were cutting the ground from under Gov Bates. The latter was charged with having gone over to the manufacturers' side since he had become Governor. The labor men forgot or ignored all of the votes he had cast for labor measures while he was a member of the House of Representatives.

Boston was strongly Democratic that year. Mayor Collins was a popular Chief Executive and the Boston Democrats worked like beavers for Douglas. The Democratic rallies were well attended. Early returns indicated a Democratic victory. Later returns proved beyond a doubt that Gov Bates was beaten. As early as six o'clock, so decisive was the result, it was known that Douglas was elected. The final tabulation of the votes gave Douglas a plurality of 35,000 over Bates.

The pluralities for the National and State tickets with the exception of that of Governor, the continued ascendency of the Republican party in the Legislature and its large percentage in the congressional delegation proved that the election was a personal drive at Bates, but the Governor accepted the verdict of the people good naturedly and has always been loyal to his party and enthusiastic for its success. Gov Bates' friends believed that he was more sinned against than sinning.

As soon as it was known that Douglas was elected the Democrats got out their bands and paraded the streets of Boston and Brockton. There were Democratic jubilation

meetings in different parts of the State and the faithful looked forward to a great year on Beacon Hill, but their hour of joy was soon to be exchanged for a period of gloom and depression. Mr. Douglas was not partisan enough to suit them.

Senator Hoar's Statue at Worcester.

CHAPTER XVII

DEATH OF SENATOR HOAR — EX-GOV CRANE NAMED BY GOV BATES AS HIS SUCCESSOR—HOAR'S CHARACTER AND SERVICE TO THE STATE AND NATION.

SENATOR Hoar died at his home in Worcester, Sept. 30, 1904. He was 78 years old and had been engaged in public affairs almost a half century. He had served his municipality as City Solicitor his representative and senatorial districts in the State Legislature, and with such signal ability that his party, without solicitation on his part nominated him for Congress. He served in the 41st, 42nd, 43rd and 44th Congresses. He succeeded George S. Boutwell as Senator from Massachusetts March 5, 1877 and continued in that body until his death. He died a poor man comparatively, but he left a rich legacy to his family—a good name, an unblemished public record, untainted by selfishness or sordid motives. In his long public career at the Nation's capital he saw men in the public service grow rich, some honorably and others not over scrupulous how they acquired wealth, but the breath of avarice never polluted his nature. He was a man of lofty ideals. His partizanship, at times was intense. If he did a man an injury and he discovered it, he manfully apologized and did everything in his power to right the wrong he had inflicted.

He never hesitated to say that his party or his associates in public life were wrong if that was his belief. He inherited his independence from his ancestors. Puritan of Puritans, Senator Hoar was cosmopolitan and broad-minded in most things. A Unitarian in religion, he respected the religious views of his fellow citizens who worshipped at different altars. A man of culture, he saw things from a broad view point. To the immigrant of alien races, he extended the hand of fellowship and bade them partake of the bread of liberty. His great heart went out to the poor, the suffering, struggling peoples of the world. His eloquent voice was ever raised for freedom and he took his stand beside the patriot

in every effort for equal rights wherever the contest was waged.

Senator Hoar's neighbors felt honored when he was among them. When he died they reared a noble bronze statue to him in Worcester where he made his home after he reached manhood's estate. He came from a virile race—a race which, sad to relate is dying out. Fortunately for the State and the Nation that race has left such an impression on the character and institutions of the country that its influence will be felt for all time. There is a disposition today to decry the Puritan and the Pilgrim. They had their faults, to be sure, but their virtues outweighed their short comings.

Senator Hoar's friendship once formed was as true and as constant as the needle which guides the mariner across the pathless sea. His political opponent found in him a foe worthy of his steel. His genuine sincerity appealed to everyone who met him and this impression grew stronger the more intimately one knew him. The beauty of his home life and his devotion to his family and friends were among his strong traits of character. Few among his contemporaries could sway an audience as he could. He was a game fighter in any cause he undertook to champion. He gave and received heavy blows in politics. His conception of his duty to his conscience was demonstrated when he stood in his place in the Senate of the United States and parted political company with the friends of a lifetime because he could not bring himself to believe that President McKinley's "benevolent assimilation" of the Philippines conformed with American ideals of popular self-government.

In the great contest which he made against what he believed to be an un-American doctrine, he risked office and reputation and invited political ostracism, but he suffered the loss of none. The Republican party was committed to the retention of the Philippines. His colleague, Senator Lodge endorsed the administration policy. Apparently the bulk of the Republicans favored the policy of the administration in its imperialistic tendency but when his term as Senator was about to expire, Massachusetts approved his independence and unanimously reelected him for another term.

That one act of the State meant more to him than the plaudits of the entire country. He spoke of it in his autobiography and printed the legislative resolution endors-

ing him. His great loss to the State and Nation was testified to by the public expressions of representative men of all races and creeds when they learned that Senator Hoar was no more.

Senator Hoar was a National figure and treated most subjects that came before him in Washington as a citizen of the United States. He had that trait of his family which could see the sunny side of life. Wit and humor, dry though it was, ran through his public utterances. He could be as harsh on his critics as he was tender with his friends.

He lived to see his old enemies of the South regard him as their best friend and invite him to their shattered firesides after the war of the Rebellion. He could and often did rise above the slough of partizanship to pay tribute to the worth and character of a political opponent. A great national character, he and his wife lived in modest quarters in Washington which many a department clerk would rebel at. He kept neither coach nor footman. He couldn't afford such luxuries even if he cared for them. The street car was his favorite conveyance in Washington and at home. His modest dwelling in Worcester was a store house of cultivated intellect, which meant more to him and his neighbors than the castle of a King, who levies taxes on subjects to maintain his gaudy trappings.

The only thing Senator Hoar asked of his fellow citizens was an appreciation of his services as their representative. That he had in its fullest measure. He died surrounded by the surviving members of his family and two faithful servants, his private secretary E. C. Goodwin and his messenger, Edward W. Doherty. He was carried back to his boyhood home, Concord, where his remains were laid beside her who shared his joys and sorrows for more than half a century.

Gov Bates was called upon to name a successor to Senator Hoar pending the meeting of the Legislature, which would select a Senator to fill the unexpired term. Several candidates were mentioned but the Governor named Ex-Gov Crane, whose selection was confirmed by the Legislature when that body met in January, and he was formally chosen as Senator Hoar's successor.

Gov Douglas, in his inaugural address, suggested a permanent memorial to Senator Hoar saying:

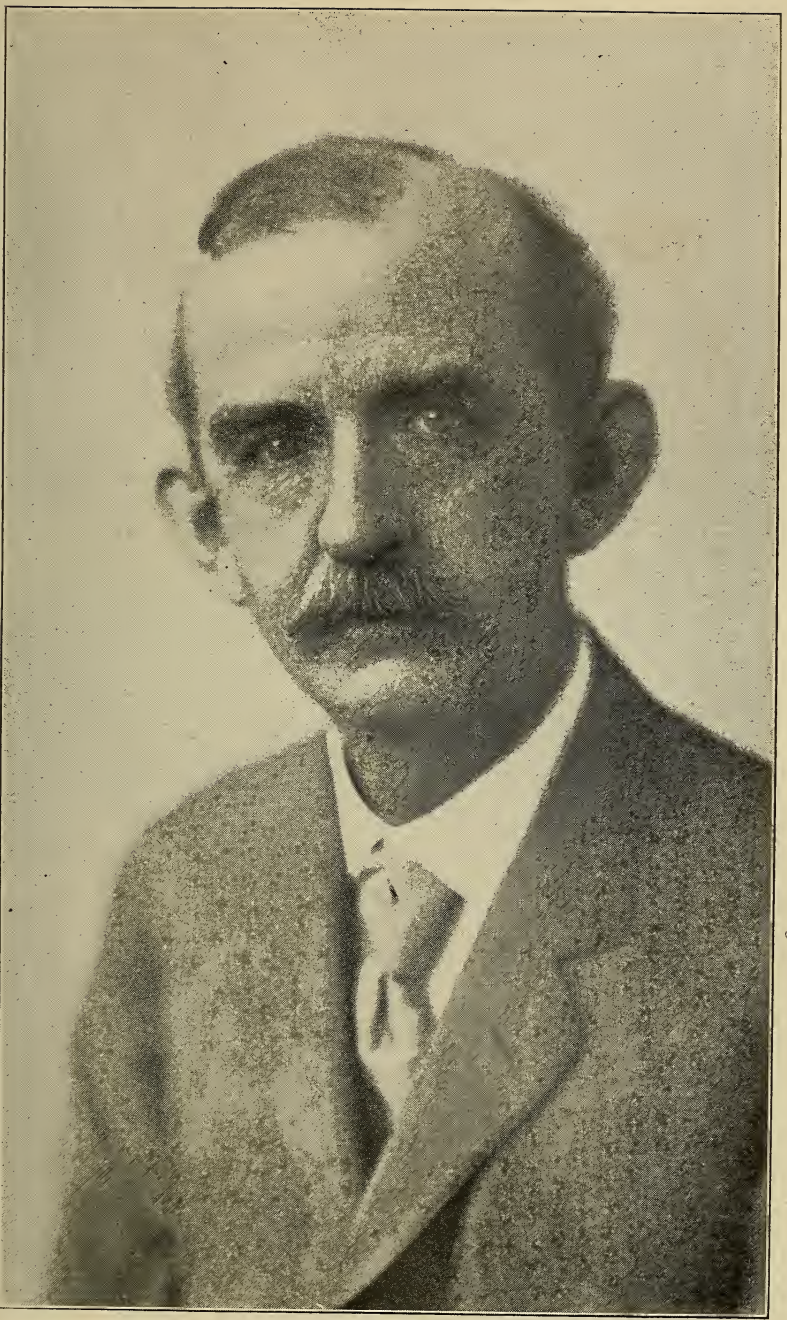
"His life work was devoted to our people, and in his death every loyal son of Massachusetts mourned the passing of one of nature's noblemen, an honest man.

"I recommend to you the appointment of a joint committee for the purpose of devising a permanent memorial to the life and character of the late Mr. Hoar, and ask of you to appropriate such money as is necessary.

"I also recommend that joint action be taken setting aside a day of the General Court when tributes to his memory may be paid in this hall by those who knew and loved him best."

The Legislature paid its tribute in due time and the people of Worcester started a popular subscription fund for a memorial to their foremost citizen. In June, 1908, the dedication ceremonies of his life size statue, which stands on the City Hall plaza, took place in the presence of a large assemblage of the people of the city. The sculptor was Daniel C. French, one of America's leading artists, who did full justice to his subject. The statue was erected with subscriptions ranging from one cent to $100 from 30,000 individuals, residents of Worcester. There were 2648 subscriptions of one cent, mostly school children, 22,820 from one cent to 25 cents, 3139 from 25 cents to $1, and 15 above $100. The list included subscriptions from 128 societies.

All classes, races and creeds, mindful of the public services of the man, gathered to show their appreciation of his worth and character. His old and intimate friend Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale offered the prayer. Among the distinguished guests on the occasion were: Associate Justice William H. Moody, of the U S Supreme Court, who was orator of the day; Gov Curtis Guild Jr., who paid the tribute of Massachusetts; Lieut Gov Eben S. Draper, Senator W. Murray Crane, his successor, Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale, Chaplain of the U S Senate; Chief Justice Marcus P. Knowlton and Associate Justice Arthur H. Rugg of the Massachusetts Supreme Court; Judge Francis A. Gaskill and Judge Henry A. King of the Massachusetts Superior Court; Congressman F. H. Gillett of Springfield, Judge William T. Forbes of the Probate Court, Mayor James Logan, Daniel Chester French, sculptor of the monument; Bishop Alexander H. Vinton of the Episcopal diocese of Western Massachusetts, Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Warner of Boston, Mrs. Edward L. Hoar of Cambridge, Roger Sherman Hoar of Concord, Mr. and Mrs. Bradford and Miss Alice Bradford of Concord, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Hoar of Concord, Mr. John



Senator Crane.

Hoar of Concord, Miss E. W. Storer of Cambridge, Mr. and Mrs. George K. Dresser of Cambridge, Henry W. Lamb of Brookline, Mrs. Roger Wolcott of Readville, Miss Dresser of Southbridge, Miss Mary Hoar of Worcester, daughter of the Senator, and Mrs. Rockwood Hoar, widow of the late Congressman Rockwood Hoar.

CHAPTER XVIII

DOUGLAS AND HIS SINGLE TERM—APPOINTS LIEUT.-GEN MILES ON HIS MILITARY STAFF—SAYS A GOOD WORD FOR PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES—FAVORS RETURN OF POLICE MANAGEMENT TO BOSTON AND FALL RIVER—CONDEMNS "DEPLORABLE CONDITIONS" IN FALL RIVER STRIKE—NAMES FLAHERTY AND CROSBY SUPERIOR COURT JUDGES—DEATH OF MAYOR COLLINS.

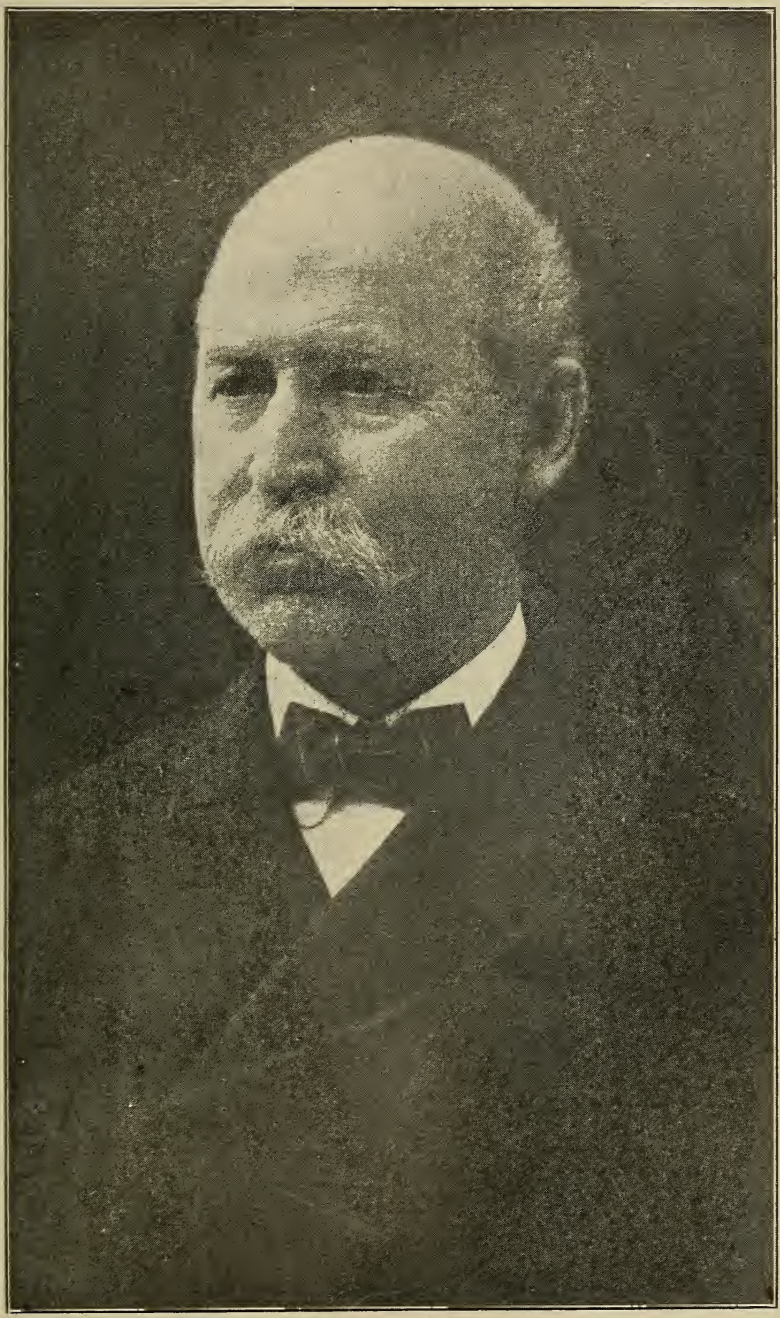
WILLIAM L. DOUGLAS entered upon his duties as Governor January 5, 1905. He was the fourth Democrat to be chosen Chief Executive of the Commonwealth since the Republican party came into power. Twelve years had come and gone since the Democrats had elected a Governor. They were naturally elated over their victory and they flocked to the State House to speed the parting Republican incumbent of that office, and welcome the incoming Governor of their own political faith. The booming of cannon on the Common saluting the new Chief Executive was followed by the applause of enthusiastic Democrats who overran the Capitol as their gubernatorial choice stood on the Speaker's rostrum in the Chamber of the House to read his inaugural address.

With gratitude to the people and a full realization of the responsibilities placed upon him Gov. Douglas said he entered upon his duties with the determination to be the Chief Executive of all the people of the State, and to do all in his power to promote the welfare of the Commonwealth and its inhabitants.

"The problems of statecraft are so numerous and far reaching that it is with the greatest difficulty that the good are sifted from the bad measures and enacted into laws. This is a work occupying the best energies of our greatest minds, and each year shows the beneficient results of study for the advancement of our people.

"I wish to urge upon you at the outset the avoidance of so-called class legislation,—that is, legislation calculated to benefit one portion of our citizenship at the expense of another," were some of the opening paragraphs of his address.

The Governor felt that the $12 tax limit on cities needed the attention of the lawmakers because, he pointed out, that



Governor Douglas.

most of the municipalities found it difficult to live on this rate and had been forced to resort to various questionable devices to meet their financial needs. He therefore urged "that the Legislature make a thorough investigation of this question, and devise some reasonable method of relieving the cities unable to comply with the law as it now stands."

He struck a popular chord with the Democrats in discussing State control of local police, saying:

"In 1885 a departure was made from the time-honored and successful system of local self-government, and the control of its own police was taken from the city of Boston and vested in a commission appointed by the Governor.

"The assumption of this power by the Commonwealth has resulted in no good to it, or to any party in it, and the Commonwealth should acknowledge the fact.

"I recommend a return to the principle of home rule by the enactment of a law restoring to Boston and Fall River, respectively, the control of their own police forces."

On the tariff the Governor's inaugural rang true from a Democratic standpoint. Under the head of Massachusetts and the tariff he said:

"I desire to call your attention to a matter that, while more National than local, and while it is one over which your body has no control is yet of vital importance to this Commonwealth.

"Massachusetts' industrial greatness is due in a measure to her natural opportunities, but more largely to her freedom of trade with the other States, to her sturdy, hardworking, frugal, skillful, intelligent, honest and patriotic people, and to her good government.

"We must, however, realize that conditions are changing, and that it is unsafe for Massachusetts to stand still and to depend entirely for industrial success upon the same factors that have in the past kept her to the forefront. I believe that our wide-awake New England people appreciate this situation, and I expect to see them solve these new problems as they have previously solved others.

"Since the passage of the present tariff law, in 1897, the cost of living has increased about 38 per cent. As prices have not risen half as much in England since 1897, it is fair to suppose that a large part of the increased cost of living in this country is due to the tariff law.

"The flow of manufactured goods the world over demonstrates that high daily and weekly wages are not a real handicap to our industries. Everywhere, with few exceptions, we see those manufactured goods requiring the most labor, and in which the percentage of labor cost is greatest, flowing from the high to the low wage countries. Our exported wheat, sown, harvested, threshed and ground by labor receiving from one to three dollars a day, competes in England with wheat from Russia and India, grown and harvested by labor receiving from twenty to fifty cents per day. It would seem to be almost a law of trade that high wages and low labor cost go hand in hand."

Because of her isolated condition as to materials and food supplies Gov Douglas said, Massachusetts felt the burden of tariff taxes more than most other States. He enthusiastically advocated reciprocity with Canada and other countries and asked for the authorization of an Industrial Commission—albeit the Governor's party had always decried Commissions and claimed that the number was too large—"to inquire into and report upon the effect of the present tariff laws upon Massachusetts' industries."

"This commission," said he, "should be empowered to hold hearings, and, if necessary, to obtain statistical and other information from without the Commonwealth. It should be required to make a final report not later than April 10, 1905. It should consider the advisability of a referendum vote on one or more of its conclusions, —the primary object of such vote being to obtain an expression of opinion from the people for the information and guidance of our representatives in the Congress.

"The importance of knowing our own tariff needs, and the possibility of thus influencing National legislation in our favor, are so great that the small cost of such a commission should hardly be considered."

Being one of the largest shoemakers in the country it was only natural that Gov Douglas should favor free hides. He coupled free coal with the same demand. "Coal," said he, "the great source of power for our factories and of heat and light for our homes, is one of the essentials to our industrial life. It should be as cheap as possible."

Congress finally granted free hides but the shoe manufacturers soon had a new excuse for raising the price of their goods so that the consumer was not benefited by such action.

On the subject of labor he said, among other things:

"Massachusetts in many enlightened labor measures has been the leader of the States; and while much has been accomplished, there yet remains more to do. The fear of changed or changing conditions should not turn us from that broad and humane view that the laborer is indeed not only worthy of his hire, but is entitled to the leisure, the opportunity and the necessary income to provide for the present and future necessities of himself and family, to elevate himself by education into an employer, and by fitness become the instrument to lessen the burden of the ever on-coming toiling masses."

On the overtime question which had been an important issue in the campaign for Governor, Mr. Douglas pleased the labor leaders by his endorsement of their demands in the following language:

"From the mills, factories and workshops in all sections of the Commonwealth there comes an appeal that should not go unheeded. It is the petition of the women and minors for the enactment of a law prohibiting the overtime work in factories and mills after a reasonable hour. To such a measure, framed with due regard for all concerned, I commend your earnest consideration."

He also urged "the necessity for doing what is possible to secure the enactment by other States of laws similar to those of Massachusetts concerning child labor and the employment of women." Pointing out the benefits to all of conciliation and arbitration in labor disputes and praising the State board for its work in this direction he said:

"The benefits of conciliation and arbitration to the community, the worker and the employer are not as well understood as they should be for the welfare of the Commonwealth, and I trust the General Court may devise some method to educate those most vitally interested in the subject to a better understanding of the wisdom of submitting grievances to an impartial board of arbiters; also that you, gentlemen, will favor such legislation as tends to promote the better working of the system already established in the State."

Regarding industrial and trade schools, Gov Douglas declared himself heartily in favor of encouraging those already established by liberal appropriations, saying:

"In my judgment Massachusetts made a good investment when it gave financial encouragement to our textile school and our nautical training school. I believe we should have similar schools in other industries.

"I would also suggest the advisability of agricultural schools, where a practical knowledge of horticulture, forestry and of the animal industries shall be taught. Small rural schools of this kind scattered throughout the State and inexpensively conducted would, in my opinion, not only do much to keep the country boys at home, but would cause our New England farms to become as productive and profitable as is possible."

He recorded himself in favor of direct legislation, asserting that it would be no innovation in Massachusetts, pointing out that the Constitution itself is amended by popular vote, remarking:

'If our organic law is thus confined to the direct vote of the people, it would be no innovation if such a vote of popular approval were to be required upon measures of legislation which are inferior in dignity and importance to constitutional amendments," and he recommended a law which would allow direct legislation, observing that "Legislatures would become more cautious as they became directly accountable to the popular judgment."

He recommended legislation giving to cities and towns wider powers in the conduct of business which derives its profits from the necessities of the community. "The powers already granted have proved the economy and wisdom of the conduct of such business by the community itself," said he, and he added:

"Whatever doubts may exist as to the expediency of State or Federal ownership of public utilities, the operation of such undertakings by towns and cities in this Commonwealth both with regard to water supply and public lighting, that under favorable conditions and proper management the business of gas, electric lighting and water supply can be conducted by municipal corporations with profit to the inhabitants, both in price and in service.

"It is not disputed that, as a rule, private corporations conduct their business more economically than do public corporations. It is, however, disputed that the public usually obtains the benefit of this economical management. In most cases, therefore, the publicly owned and operated water works, sewers, gas and electric lighting plants have given the public cheaper and better service than have the privately owned concerns. For these reasons, I ask the Legislature to give every reasonable facility to those municipalities which desire to conduct their own public-service utilities."

That was a longer step in this direction than any of his predecessors had taken on this subject for years. Coming from a successful business man the suggestion caused quite a little flurry. The lobby and the high priced legislative counsel, to be sure, had to do a little more button-holing of members than usual and the Governor's public ownership ideas died a borning.

Mr. Douglas invited attention to the tendency among those who do not know the lot of the unfortunate to treat offenders against the law with uniform rigor, regardless of the circumstances which may surround them and their offences, saying:

"I believe that the majority of offenders are creatures of conditions and environment rather than of vicious natures, and that just treatment may redeem many when the rigor of punishment may serve not to correct, but rather to confirm, evil impulses.

"So far as is consistent with the safety of the community, the prison should be only a final resort for the prevention of crime.

"With respect to minor offences, it seems to me that the widest scope should be given to judges and to charitable organizations, so that mercy, benevolence, kindness and Christian forgiveness shall be exhausted before the penalties of the law are inflicted. I believe that unfortunates, the hungry, the unemployed and the intoxicated should not be taken to a cell when a door of charity is open to them and improvement may be hoped for without punishment. Some

discretion may also fairly be vested in the police to take offenders to their homes rather than to cells, and even to release them under proper safeguards from appearance in court."

He had a good word for voting machines and expressed the hope that the adoption of some mechanical device for voting would be considered by the Legislature. A very important announcement was made regarding the State militia. He said that he had asked the War Department to detail Lieut Gen Nelson A. Miles, U. S. A., retired, to report to him under the provisions of the "Dick Act" and that he had been notified by the Secretary of War that the request would be granted.

"It is my intention to have General Miles make a thorough inspection of the organized militia of the State. He will report, in writing, what changes in our militia laws and methods of adminstration are, in his judgment, desirable to better promote its efficiency as a part of the National guard, and to obtain the benefits of National co-operation and assistance" said he.

Forty-four years before Nelson A. Miles, a native of this State had raised and equipped at his own expense a company of volunteers when President Lincoln asked for defenders of the Union. He was elected a Lieutenant. His rise was rapid, winning promotion after promotion by conspicuous bravery and daring deeds. He was in every engagement of the Army of the Potomac with one exception until the surrender of Lee to Grant at Appomattox. At 25 he commanded an army corps numbering 25,000 men. Three times wounded he was mustered out at the close of the war as a Major General of volunteers. Entering the Regular Army at the close of the Civil War he had seen the hardest kind of service on the frontier, fighting Indians. He was the terror of "Sitting Bull" and other famous old Indian warriors. No man who wore the uniform of the U S in his day had had more public honors heaped on him than General Miles, but he got out of favor at the White House during Pres Roosevelt's term, was snubbed and retired.

Gen Miles was one of the foremost soldiers the State and country ever produced and yet he had never seen the inside of a military school until after he had won his commission as Major General. His stay was brief as Gov Douglas was only a one-termer. Gen Miles had been away from his native State so long that he felt like a stranger on his return.

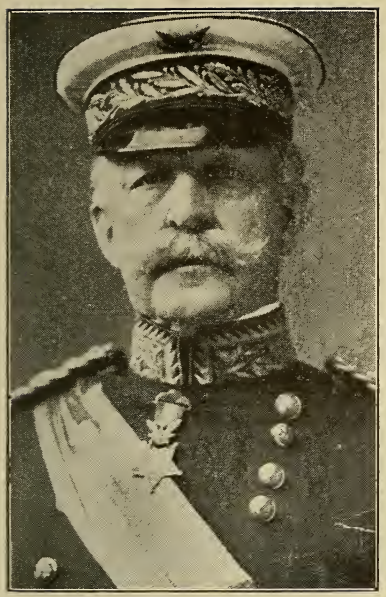
He came without much show or trappings, took the desk assigned him in the Adjutant General's department and gladly gave the State the benefit of his experience which was embodied in a new militia bill and passed by the Legislature, bringing the organization up to a higher standard. With the passing of the Douglas administration Gen Miles departed as quietly as he came.

Gov Douglas gave his support to the movement to establish juvenile courts for handling the cases of minors under 16. The prolonged textile strike in Fall River was handled without gloves in the following language in the inaugural:

"The most deplorable conditions exist at Fall River. It seems beyond belief that in these enlightened twentieth century days, after all the study and experiments of our best minds, it should be possible for us to look upon such an appalling spectacle as the present situation in that city. Nations have met and solved vexed problems by arbitration; magnificent temples are being constructed where world powers may meet and settle their differences. Yet here in Massachusetts—the citadel of wealth, culture, refinement and progressive liberality—is presented the melancholy sight of our women and children being fed from soup houses and sent to bed scantily clad in fireless homes. I cannot attempt to dissect the causes leading up to this condition, but it is sufficient for us to know that it exists. If it be possible in the deliberations of your bodies to formulate a remedy for existing conditions and prevent their recurrence, humanity will not have labored in vain.

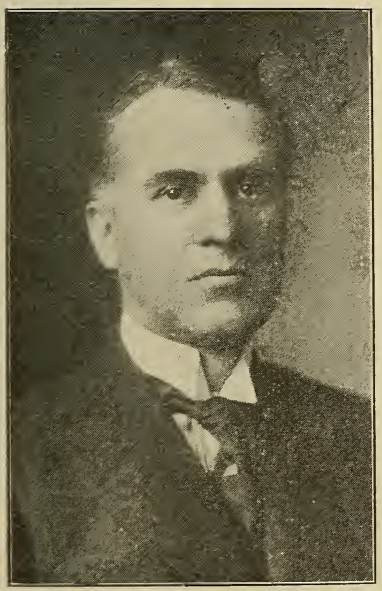
"The situation in Fall River is not only a blemish upon the good name of the Commonwealth, but many of its citizens, in no way responsible for, or parties to, the present state of affairs, are being ruined financially, with no power to save themselves. It should at least be a subject worthy of study to devise some means not only for the prevention of such desperate industrial warfare, but for the protection of those interests in the community not a party to the controversy."

With a Republican Legislature and a Republican Executive Council, with the other elected State officials on the State ticket Republicans, Gov Douglas began his administration by appointing William R. Buchanan of Brockton, a newspaper proprietor and business associate, a Republican, his private secretary. Mr. Buchanan came to be regarded as a Deputy Governor. He knew practically none of the Democratic politicians and it was not long before he was on the black list of several Democratic political leaders. Pretty soon the complaint was heard that Democrats couldn't get at His Excellency. Rightly or wrongly Buchanan was condemned by the politicians and many Democrats stopped going to the Executive department.



Gen. Miles.

Gen. Stopford.



Gen. Cole.

Gen. Pearson.

John J. Flaherty, of Gloucester, chairman of the executive committee of the State Committee and John C. Crosby who had been a party draught horse for years and had been Douglas' running mate on the State ticket, were made judges of the Superior Court. Charles H. Cole was made police commissioner of Boston. But that was about all the big jobs that were handed to the faithful. The small fry got little comfort and only a few patronage crumbs from the Douglas political table.

The Legislature was in session 143 days and on May 26 was prorogued. It had passed 479 acts and 108 resolves. Gov Douglas vetoed four acts only one of which was passed over his veto. Very few of the changes in the organic laws proposed by Gov Douglas were adopted.

Resolutions on the death of Ex-Gov William Claflin, Ex-Gov Boutwell and Gen Fitz-Hugh Lee were adopted. Both branches passed resolutions favoring free hides, Canadian reciprocity and the regulation of the hours of labor by Federal laws. Most of the work of the Legislature of 1905 was special legislation affecting cities, towns, individuals and corporations.

The foremost American-Irishman of his day, Patrick A. Collins died suddenly at Hot Springs, Va., September 13, 1905, whither he had gone for a brief respite from his arduous duties as Mayor of Boston. The news of his death came as a shock to his friends and Boston was plunged into genuine grief and mourning. Gen Collins' friends were getting ready to again urge him to accept another term as Mayor of Boston and he encouraged them to believe that he would again consent to head the Democratic mayoralty ticket. No man stood higher in the city or State than Gen Collins. He was easily the foremost man of his race and yet he was genuinely American in every fibre of his body. For a quarter of a century he had been regarded as one of the big Democrats of the Nation. His counsel and advice was sought by the party leaders in National, State and city affairs. Honest, sincere, upright in character he hated shams and meanness and stood head and shoulders above his party associates in the maelstrom of politics.

His character was noble; his ideals lofty and inspiring. He had risen by his own efforts from the lowly ranks of the poor emigrant to high station in public affairs. He was

honored by his city and State and Country with their choicest laurels and when he was no more, a grateful public erected a noble monument to him, hard by the friend of his youth, John Boyle O'Reilly, whose memory is also perpetuated in bronze by his admirers. No man has yet appeared in the Democratic ranks to take the place of Patrick A. Collins. His type of Democratic politician is becoming rarer and rarer every day.

CHAPTER XIX

DEMOCRATS NOMINATE CHARLES W. BARTLETT AND HENRY M. WHITNEY FOR GOVERNOR AND LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, RESPECTIVELY—REPUBLICANS NAME GUILD AND DRAPER AS THEIR GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATES AND WIN—DEATH OF EX-GOV. BOUTWELL.

IT BEGAN to be whispered about in the late Summer of 1905 that Gov Douglas had had enough of the Governorship, that he desired to return to private life and keep his business eye on his shoe shops. When the definite announcement was made that he would not be a candidate for re-election, the Democratic leaders began to troop up Beacon Hill and ask the Governor to reconsider his declination. Men who had openly criticized him joined in the procession and begged him to run again, realizing that a business man like Douglas was an asset to the party, but nothing that his political friends or associates said was able to induce him to change his mind. Democrats began to cast about for a new candidate. Col Gaston was asked to run. His friends felt that the good work he had done in organizing the party made it possible for Douglas to be elected. He, too, refused. Finally, Gen Charles W. Bartlett, a well-known lawyer, a resident of Newton and member of Gov Douglas' staff was agreed upon and was nominated at the State convention held in Boston, Oct. 7.

Gen Bartlett had never been prominent in party affairs, although he had shown some interest in ward politics when he lived in Dorchester. He was one of the backers of the O'Connell boys of Ward 20, who represented what was known among the local politicians as the "Red Devil" Democracy. Bartlett was New Hampshire born and bred and inherited his politics from a long line of Granite State Democrats. His nomination was a popular one and he had the support of all factions of the party.

Before he was nominated, however, there were a lot of things requiring the attention of the party doctors. The chief

obstacle in the path of those who favored the nomination of Gen Bartlett was to get Mayor McNamee of Cambridge out of the way. McNamee was one of those who felt aggrieved over Douglas' failure to recognize the "Six o'clock Democrats" in giving out the offices and he was inclined to oppose any Douglas man. Up to the meeting of the State convention McNamee was still insurging, but Col. Gaston's diplomacy was equal to the occasion and he was credited with getting McNamee to retire from the contest. McNamee went further. He seconded the nomination of Gen. Bartlett in the convention.

For the second place on the ticket it was agreed beforehand that Henry M. Whitney, of Brookline, a prominent Boston business man and promoter of big enterprises would be the choice for Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Whitney had long been an advocate of Canadian reciprocity. As President of the Boston Chamber of Commerce he led a non-partisan movement for closer trade relations between the United States and Canada. On the Republican side was Eugene N. Foss. Foss went into several Republican State conventions and was defeated on the proposition. He incurred the political displeasure of Senator Lodge and other Republican leaders who were not in favor of the brand of reciprocity advocated by Whitney, Foss & Co.

In order to pacify a large number of business men who were in the movement, the Republicans put a reciprocity plank into their platform this year but it was too ambiguous to suit the Reciprocitarians and they insisted that the Republican attitude was not straightforward. As it was settled that the Republican ticket this year would be Guild and Draper, and as Guild's position was satisfactory to them on reciprocity, the leaders of the latter movement decided to make their fight on Draper who was an opponent of their ideas. Hence it was that Mr. Whitney, although of gubernatorial size, decided to contest the Lieutenant Governorship with Draper. Mr. Whitney had plain sailing for the Democratic nomination. He, too, came of an old Democratic family. His father, Gen James S. Whitney, a Jacksonian Democrat, had been a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1853, which was controlled by the Democrats and Free Soilers and he was Collector of the Port of Boston before the war. He was a prominent business man. His son, Henry

M., inherited his father's aptitude for big business. Another son, William C. had been Secretary of the Navy in Cleveland's first cabinet.

Besides being engaged in the steamship business, Henry M. Whitney had brought about the consolidation of all of the street railways running into Boston. He was a director in the Boston & Maine Railroad. He had dabbled in the gas combine in Boston and the suburbs and was still looking for other business worlds to conquer. The Republicans charged that he was working for selfish purposes, pointing out that under reciprocity—merely another name for free trade, they claimed—the products of Whitney's Nova Scotia coal and iron mines would be admitted free into the American market.

The permanent chairman of the Democratic convention was Congressman John R. Thayer, of Worcester. Osborne Howes, Jr., an editorial writer on the Boston Herald, was chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. James E. Cotter and Charles H. Jones, the latter a large shoe manufacturer, made the nomination speeches for Mr. Whitney. The paramount issue of the campaign was declared to be relief from tariff restrictions, set out in the following plank:

"The paramount issue at this time before the people of Massachusetts is relief from tariff restrictions. The effect of this policy, forced upon the dominant Republican party by the great and selfish interests, has been to cut Massachusetts from its natural markets of sale and purchase and to push the State towards the danger line of industrial decline. It is shown in trade reports, financial statements and census returns, that while the industries of the country, as a whole, have materially increased in the past decade, those of this State have remained nearly stationary."

There was a kindly reference to the retiring Governor in one of the closing paragraphs of the platform reading:

"We deeply regret that Gov Douglas has declined the highly deserved honor of a renomination. He has shown in his official career an honesty, courage and dignity which have won for him the commendation alike of political friends and opponents. He will carry with him, in his retirement into private life, the respect and good wishes of the people of Massachusetts."

Aside from a little eruption over the manner in which the State Committeemen-at-large were to be selected, the convention was as harmonious as could be desired.

Lieut Gov Guild, Jr., was the choice of the Republicans for Governor. His nomination was made by acclamation on motion of Ex-Gov Bates who made the nominating speech for him in the convention. There was a three-cornered contest for the second place on the ticket and also for the position of Attorney-General. The ballots for both of these nominations in the convention were as follows:

Whole number of votes, 1523; necessary for a choice, 762; Eben S. Draper, 890; August H. Goetting, 328; Fred S. Hall, 303.

Three ballots were necessary to settle the Attorney-General contest, the last ballot being as follows:

Malone, 722; Champlin, 366; Sanderson, 129; French 210.

Dana Malone of Greenfield was nominated and elected.

The Reciprocitarians were represented in the Republican convention by Henry B. Blackwell and Eugene N. Foss, but they were disarmed at the start by the phraseology of the tariff plank in the platform as reported by Congressman Lawrence. The promised oratorical fireworks were lacking at the show down. Gen Draper, brother of the nominee for Lieutenant Governor, disapproved of the effort of the Republican leaders to pacify the reciprocity element and denounced the tariff plank of the platform as weak. The year before the advocates of reciprocity were flattened out by the party steam roller. Because of the more liberal attitude of the Massachusetts Republican Congressmen on the question and because of the tariff plank this year the reciprocity men made no serious objections to the adoption of the platform.

Senator Lodge, however, did not let the opportunity go by without expressing his opinion of the movement and the methods employed in securing signatures to reciprocity petitions. He sarcastically referred to the "five-cent plank" of the Committee of One Hundred which solicited the names on the petition and paid the canvassers five cents a name for signatures, favoring free hides, coal, iron ore, lumber and wood pulp. He also criticized the manner in which Mr. Foss had expressed his views to the convention.

In a statement after the convention, Mr. Foss showed the keenest resentment at Mr. Lodge's speech, characterizing it as a direct insult to thousands of Republican voters in Massachusetts. After the tariff debate in the convention Albert W. Cobb of Winthrop offered a resolution calling for

the election of U S Senators by popular vote. It had not been referred to the Committee on Resolutions and Congressman Weeks, the permanent presiding officer ruled it out of order.

Ex-Gov Bates' speech nominating Lieut Gov Guild for Governor was happy, eloquent and eulogistic.

"We have been together in sunshine and in shower," said Mr. Bates. "Together we have seen the clouds break, heard the thunders crash and watched the lightning play. The storm has passed; it is Indian summer now; the earth is clothed in autumn glory; and the old party of the Union and liberty is advancing once more to claim its own. Let no man linger with the yesterdays or hold a grievance with the past, but let the present with its problems and opportunities, challenge his attention.

"I am here to ask no favor, although did I desire anything, I should not hesitate to ask it of your generous hands. But the nomination which I am going to suggest to you, you would make without my asking; and whether you nominate my candidate or not, the rank and file of the party will nominate him, and whether the party nominate him or not, the people will elect him next November Governor of Massachusetts."

All the nominations were made unanimous and the campaign on both sides started off with a rush. The Republicans realized that they were up against two good campaigners in Bartlett and Whitney. A few of the extreme radicals in the Democratic ranks declined to support Whitney. Foremost among them was George Fred Williams, who wrote an open letter to Mr. Whitney charging him with using corrupt methods in securing legislation for his street railway consolidation. Mr. Williams reviewed the famous West End legislative investigation of 1890 based upon charges brought by himself then a member of the Legislature from Dedham. In his letter replying to Mr. Williams, Mr. Whitney said:

"As there was never any sound ground for opposition to my plans and purposes, in connection with the transportation interests of this city, I have never been able to see how anybody could oppose them, except that they had some ulterior purpose not connected with the public interest.

"But you did succeed in accomplishing this—you induced the Legislature to withhold from the charter the right of eminent domain, without which it was impossible to build the road. This operated to cause years of delay in its construction, and the thousands of men, women and children who use the system today, and would have used it sooner if it had been built, have you to thank for having added during this time minutes to their days of toil in transit to and from their homes by crowded surface lines.

"Gov. Brackett, or any other Governor, never did a more just

act, or one more in the interests of the people, than that of signing the West End bill. If in consequence thereof he has suffered politically or otherwise it is not the first time in the history of human affairs that men have suffered from unjust causes.

"I am pleased to know that you are not going to vote for me. It relieves of even this little obligation to you. But for having given me this little opportunity to replying to your unjust and false charges which for more than fifteen years have been repeated from time to time, in such manner and by such authority that I could not reply to them, I beg to tender you my hearty acknowledgements and thanks."

Guild and Draper won. Guild's plurality was 22,558 but Draper's was less than 2000. Interest in the contest between Draper and Whitney was intense. Election night the Democrats, through Arthur Lyman, chairman of the State committee, sent a telegraphic despatch to the chairmen of Democratic town and city committees reading as follows:

"Please prepare and file petition for recount of vote for Lieutenant Governor. It requires signatures of 10 registered voters in each ward, with residence on May 1. Get 12 signatures for safety.

"One signer must swear to it. Must be filed with city clerk before Friday at 5 p. m. File Thursday, however, to avoid legal ambiguity. City Clerk has blanks.

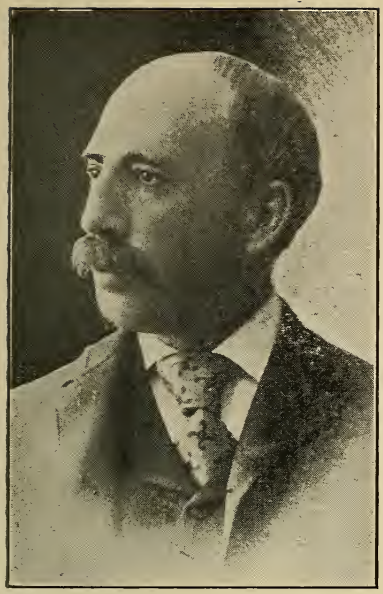
(Signed) "ARTHUR LYMAN,
"Chairman Democratic State Committee."

Towns casting less than 100 votes were not asked to secure recounts. The recounts did not change the result. The official vote declared Mr. Draper's plurality to be 1941. The vote for Governor and Lieutenant Governor was as follows:

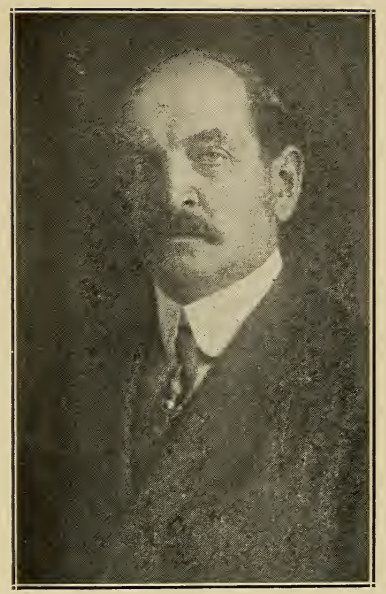
Governor: Curtis Guild, Jr., Republican, 197,469; C. W. Bartlett, Democrat, 174,911; James F. Carey, Socialist, 12,874; William O. Mylie, Prohibitionist, 3,286; William H. Carroll, Socialist Labor, 2,774. Lieutenant-Governor: Eben S. Draper, 182,037; H. M. Whitney, 180,096.

Election night Gov. Douglas congratulated Mr. Guild, said he hoped he would enjoy his new honors and thanked him for his uniform courtesy during the year. The Legislature and Executive Council remained heavily Republican.

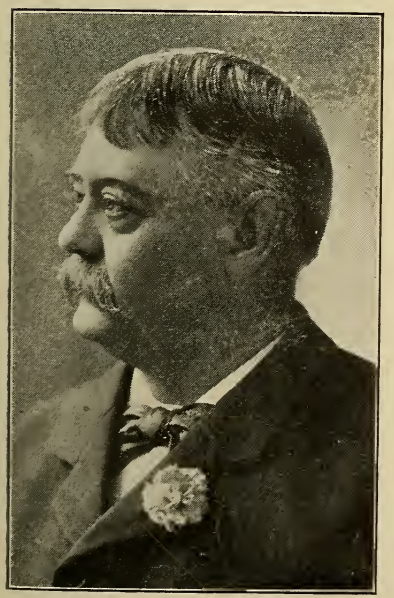
George S. Boutwell passed away February 27, 1905, mourned by every lover of freedom and defender of human rights. He had lived and labored beyond the biblical age of three score and 10, serving his State and country with distinguished ability and patriotic devotion, gracing every office



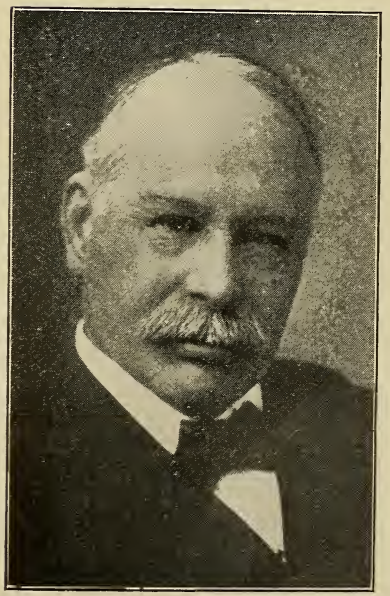
Samuel L. Powers.



Thomas C. Thacher.



Gen. Charles W. Bartlett.



Henry M. Whitney.

he filled and winning the deserved enconiums of his fellow citizens. Originally a Democrat, he became a Free Soiler. He was one of the founders of the Republican party and became one of its greatest leaders and moulders of public opinion. The friend and confidant of Lincoln, Andrew, Sumner and Wilson, the advisor of President Grant, he had been Governor of Massachusetts, one of the leading members of the Constitutional Convention of 1853, organizer of the Federal Internal Revenue Department at the outbreak of the Civil War, Secretary of the Treasury, Congressman, Senator from Massachusetts and a recognized authority on constitutional law. He was one of a group of American statesmen of that great epoch of American history from 1850 to 1880, which left its impress on public men and events for all time. He was one of the State's most brilliant sons. In the evening of life he became estranged from the party he had helped organize because of its Philippine policy and was a leading anti-Imperialist.

Most of his old associates regretted his attitude on the Philippine policy but treated him with gentle forbearance. In the campaign of 1890 when party feeling ran high on the subject, Congressman Moody was a little severe on him and remarked in a speech before the Essex Club that: "He (Boutwell) at least might spare epithets to the party that had showered upon him every honor within its gift except the Presidency."

Mr. Boutwell replied, saying that if he had applied any disparaging epithets to the Republican party he was not aware of it, recounted his party services and what the party had done for him and concluded by saying: "If a mercantile account current could be written it might appear that my obligations to the Republican party are not in excess of the obligations of the Republican party to me."

He died poor in purse but rich in the legacy of noble life dedicated to his country and his fellow citizens.

CHAPTER XX

FIRST TERM OF GUILD AND DRAPER—BOSTON POLICE BOARD REORGANIZED AND STEPHEN O'MEARA MADE COMMISSIONER.

CURTIS Guild Jr was the logical candidate for the Republicans to nominate for Governor in the campaign of 1905. As Lieutenant Governor for two terms under Gov Bates he had had many opportunities to appear at public functions and get his views on public questions before the people. In nominating him as their candidate for Governor the Republicans carried out their party policy of promoting the second man to first place on the State ticket. He was thus by party usage the heir apparent to the gubernatorial throne. As Lieutenant Governor under Douglas he had treated the Democratic Governor in all of his official dealings and personal relations with great courtesy. By general agreement Mr. Guild was the man of the hour on the Republican side. He was not offensive to the Democrats. While a strong partizan he had occasionally refused to enthuse over some of his party's local candidates for public office. A less popular man might have had difficulty in leading the Republicans to victory.

Curtis Guild, Jr., came of good old Yankee stock. His father was a well-known journalist. The Lieutenant Governor was associated with him in the publication of the Commercial Bulletin, a weekly paper. Its editorial page afforded the son an opportunity to print his views on political and economic questions. Curtis Guild, Jr., was graduated from Harvard and moved in the best society, but he was democratic in his ways, mixed with the common people, sympathized with and worked for many political reforms. For years he had been one of the most popular stump speakers of his party. When the Spanish War broke out he resigned his commission as Lieutenant Colonel in the State militia and went out as Adjutant and Lieutenant of the 6th Massachusetts regiment. Later influential friends at Washington pro-

cured for him an appointment on the staff of Gen Fitz-Hugh Lee, in command of the 7th Army Corps, as Inspector General with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. The 7th Army Corps saw no fighting, but that was the fortune of war.

When Curtis Guild, Jr., came to the Governor's chair, he was well qualified for its duties. Since leaving college he had taken a deep interest in politics and public questions. He was a student of public affairs and enjoyed the friendship of many prominent public men. His reputation as a speaker was nation wide. He was one of those chosen to accompany Col Roosevelt on the latter's Western tour in the presidential campaign of 1900. Col Guild's style of oratory was of an earlier generation—somewhat flamboyant and often filled with classical allusions. No other stump speaker was more in demand. He was a "hero" at Spanish War Veterans' gatherings. He was one of the few literary Governors of the State. His inaugural addresses and other public writings have a finished literary touch.

Eben S. Draper, the Lieutenant Governor, had long desired to blaze his way to the Chief Executive's chair. He was rich, a member of a family that had made millions out of cotton mill machinery. He knew that before he reached the Governorship it was customary to serve an apprenticeship as Lieutenant Governor. He had to fight hard for the nomination for second place. He was opposed for the nomination by Col August H. Goetting of Springfield and Judge Hall of Taunton. The State organization leaders favored Draper. Years before Mr. Draper had served as chairman of the Republican State Committee. He had always shown a lively interest in the affairs of the Republican party. The Drapers were among the heaviest and most cheerful givers to the campaign funds, State and National, and the party rewarded their generosity by protecting their interests through tariff bills.

The new administration was sworn in January 4, 1906. Gov Guild took occasion in his first inaugural to answer the Democratic charge that Massachusetts was decadent, attributable, they charged, to the high tariff.

"We are met in no mean city," said Gov Guild wtih evident pride. "The real Boston is the greater Boston that includes the homes as well as the workshops and counting houses of this community. It is a great metropolis,—a greater metropolis than its own citizens perhaps appreciate. It should be developed as such.

"The combined exports and imports of Boston are exceeded only by those of New York. This is the second seaport in the United States. It must not retrograde. Both exports and imports exceed those of last year. Measured by assessed valuation of the property in her borders, Massachusetts is exceeded by but two States. Fifth from the foot in area, Massachusetts is third from the top in wealth.

"Nor is this prosperity the dwindling legacy of earlier generations. The past year has seen huge additions to our industrial plants, notably to those producing manufactures of leather and of wool.

"The annual value of the manufactured products of Massachusetts increased by but $175,173,033 between 1885 and 1895. It increased by $300,267,558 between 1895 and 1905. The total value of goods made in Massachusetts was $1,150,074,860 in 1905.

"The increase in the value of the annual product of cotton goods from 1885 to 1895 was $32,190,463. From 1895 to 1906, in spite of Southern competition, it was $48,949,280. The increase in our wool and worsted products between 1885 and 1905 was $7,400,533. Between 1895 and 1905 it was $50,581,514. The increase in our shoe products between 1885 and 1905 was $7,405,548. Between 1895 and 1905 it was $70,271,966.

"Through the conventions of her two great parties, through her General Court and Governor, Massachusetts has already demanded from the National Government the immediate construction of a tariff framed to meet the lines of modern competition. Massachusetts asks the removal of duties as are now needless, the reduction of such duties as were once just but are now excessive, and the development not of our commerce alone but of the commerce of the United States by more friendly trade treaties with other nations. In such investigation of the real needs of American industries Massachusetts asks no exclusive favors. We understand that the removal of the duty on hides means a revision of the duty on goods that are made from hides.

"Massachusetts stands at the council board of the Nation not as a broken beggar, whimpering for an alms, but as a strong man, demanding aggressive action from his peers.

"Such action has already been urged on President and Congress through our Senators and Representatives, on whom alone the Constitution imposes the responsibility to the people for such National legislation."

He suggested the extension of the corrupt practices act to limit the amount to be spent by candidates and the prohibition of campaign contributions by corporations, saying:

"Prosperity, as well as adversity, breeds evil. The rapid accumulation of wealth has led to a lavish use of money in elections. This increase in the use of money is in this Commonwealth confined to no party, district or variety of election. The uses to which much of this money is put are not in themselves corrupt. The spending of scores of thousands of dollars on posters and newspaper advertising is not corrupt in itself; but when a citizen, asked by his fellow citizens to take public office, is forced to contemplate such huge expenditure as a necessity, the obvious result is to drive the man of modest means from public life. The parsimony of the United States makes the richest nation in the world the only one

that cannot be represented, thanks to the expense of the position, by a poor man as ambassador to a foreign court. Franklin could not afford to go to France today.

"Let us not in Massachusetts make it impossible for some future Samuel Adams to be a candidate for Governor."

Mr. Guild was not a rich man himself, although many of his friends and supporters could be counted among the millionaire class. He did not believe in rich men buying office and sought to prevent them from doing so. A life long advocate of civil service reform and extension of it, Gov Guild recommended that an adequate salary be paid, at least to the chairman of the Board, from whom he said the needs of the work demanded daily attention.

He also recommended

"That a sufficient appropriation be made to provide for constant not occasional, inspection of pay rolls; and, further, the enactment of a statute providing for the conspicuous and continuous display, by town and city officials, of posters to be prepared by the Civil Service Commission, that the people may know when and where examinations are to take place, what vacancies exist, and, in fine, how they can secure the public employment guaranteed them by law without the intervention of influence-mongers or partisan organizations."

State finances were discussed at considerable length. Touching on this subject which every Governor of late years has felt it necessary to consider and urge more economical habits on the part of the Legislature, he said:

"I desire to urge upon your attention a careful perusal of the reports of the Treasurer and of the Auditor, and the annual and special messages of my three immediate predecessors. With every possible economy, we have been forced to raise, by direct taxation, a sum amounting last year to four millions of dollars. This direct State tax is caused by the unusual generosity of the Commonwealth to the local governments of its cities and towns. The Commonwealth has assumed one local burden after another. Its assumption, for example, of the entire care of the insane has relieved and should have reduced local taxation by over a million dollars annually.

"Absolutely no additional revenue has been provided to offset this increased State expenditure. On the contrary, the Commonwealth, like the pelican in the fable, has opened her own veins to feed her hungry offspring."

He suggested that

"Legislation be enacted to strengthen present laws by the removal of any ambiguity of phrase, with such other action as may conduce to the effective prevention of unauthorized banking' pointing out that "Since the new business corporation law went into effect

there has been a growing tendency to organize corporations to engage in banking and on the part of foreign corporations to obtain admission into Massachusetts for the same purpose."

Adverting to the Insurance laws and because of the scandalous showing made by the investigation of the big companies in New York he said:

"Not one hint of graft, or even of political interference, is directed, in this general storm of criticism, against the Insurance Department of this Commonwealth. It is the admitted standard for efficiency in the country. Our Massachusetts insurance laws, moreover, have been copied in part by many States, and by some States almost in entirety. At such a crisis, with patent wrong crying for redress, a Commonwealth with such a record cannot relinquish leadership. Our first duty is to recodify our own laws, last completely recodified in 1887."

Under the head of railroads, he said:

"I cannot too strongly recommend to you the abolition of special privileges and the extension of general law in every possible branch of legislation, as urged upon this honorable body by His Excellency John L. Bates. I particularly recommend the extension of general law to legislation affecting street and electric railways.

"The unusual length of our legislative sessions as compared with those of other States is in part due to the discussion of special charters. They destroy wholesome competition under uniform conditions. The special evil, however, of such valuable monopolies, granted by special charter, is the daily temptation to the base activity of the grafter, the corruptionist and the professional commercial promoter, not only in the lobby of the Legislature, but in the ward room and at the polling booth. Certain states have adopted constitutional provisions against special legislation of this character. Where is such favoritism more out of place than in this Commonwealth, whose founders made the very opening sentence of its frame of government a declaration of the equality of all men before the law?"

This was the beginning of his opposition to the railroad interests which never quite forgave him.

In his opinion the telegraph and telephone should be supervised by some State authority and he suggested that power be given the Highway Commission.

The Governor told how he had started the government machinery to collect certain moneys due soldiers of the Spanish War.

"Under a contract based on percentage the Commonwealth last year paid to a Washington attorney a commission infinitely larger than contemplated by the officials, who yet did make the contract

with him, for the collection of claims due on account of the Civil War," said he.

"The large fortune so obtained by this attorney brought a host of propositions to collect similar claims, not only of the Commonwealth but of individual veterans of the Spanish War, the fee to be taken from the amount collected, in the shape of a percentage. These propositions were referred to me as chairman of the committee on military and naval affairs of the Council. On consultation with the Attorney General, it was clearly shown that the employment of such agents in such a manner would be both needless and in direct violation of the spirit of the Constitution and laws of the Commonwealth. Moreover, it seemed unfair that men who had served in war should by the assumption of power by the government be forced to surrender to any claim agent, without even being heard in the matter, a portion of the money due them by the United States.

"This view of the case was presented to His Excellency. No action was taken by the Council. The Governor authorized the Attorney General to attend to duties properly and constitutionally his. The Attorney General acted at once. An officer selected by him was set to work. He was aided by every power at the disposal of the Adjutant-General in the matter of searching records. He was and is to be paid as others employed by the Attorney-General have been paid. He has already completed and filed at Washington proofs of much larger sums than it was believed were due the soldiers of this Commonwealth in the Spanish War.

"These men will therefore receive, without being mulcted, as was proposed, of any percentage, the entire amount due them from the National government; and Massachusetts has re-established the important legal precedent, that her debts are to be collected by her own accredited officials, working on conditions clearly understood, and under the immediate direction of the law officer of the Commonwealth."

He drew attention to Virginia's celebration at Jamestown the first English settlement on American soil. "I believe that Massachusetts should be adequately represented at an exposition especially designed to be historical as well as industrial," he said.

He took issue with the Democrats on the police system of Boston and justified the State's interference. He recommended the establishment of an Excise Board which should be given the powers to grant and regulate liquor licenses then possessed by the Board of Police and advocated a single Police Commissioner for Boston.

"Some twenty years ago," he said, "the control of the police of Boston was transferred from the city to the Commonwealth, not at the instigation of any political organization, but on evidence, now in my possession, furnished by the New England Society for the Suppression of Vice, that under local control the police of the metropolis at that time were drifting into a condition not dissimilar

from that recently exposed in certain other great cities. The transfer has been amply justified. Though criticism, sometimes just, has been made of a metropolitan as opposed to a purely local control of police, it cannot be denied, that, whatever the politics of the Governor who has been in office, the Boston police has at least been free, since the Commonwealth assumed control, from the graver scandals proved against the police elsewhere. No man today inpugns the personal integrity of the present commissioners, or charges them with the use of their great power for graft or gain."

Further provisions were urged for the care of the insane and feeble minded "not merely in the name of humanity, but of law and order and citizenship."

Referring to child labor he had this to say:

"Massachusetts has ever been among the foremost in the protection of little children. It is a matter of congratulation that the Massachusetts idea of a National investigation of child labor, with the object of its supression in every State, has at last been adopted and urged in a message to the Congress by the President of the United States.

"It is especially important at this time that Massachusetts prove her sincerity in this reform. The force of inspectors of the District Police is no longer sufficient for thorough and frequent inspection of the rapidly increasing army of labor in our industries. I suggest the increase needed for the purpose of a more effective enforcement of laws against the employment of children."

The Legislature of 1906 added 535 acts and 109 resolves to the laws of Massachusetts. The session occupied 178 days and adjourned at 11:45 P. M. on the night of June 29. Gov Guild vetoed seven acts. Both branches adopted resolutions memorializing Congress in praying that the Federal Government establish uniform hours of labor in all the States and passed an amendment of the Constitution authorizing the Governor and Council to remove justices of the peace and notaries.

The Governor and Council were authorized to spend the sum of $5000 for a portrait bust of Senator Hoar for the State House. The Governor was empowered to name five commissioners to have charge of the Massachusetts Exhibit at the Jamestown Exhibition and the board was authorized to spend $50,000 for the State exhibit. Twenty-one Hundred dollars were appropriated for an oil portrait of Abraham Lincoln to be hung in Memorial Hall. A licensing board for the City of Boston in pursuance of the suggestions of the Governor's inaugural was passed and the old police board was abolished and made a single headed commission, to which of-

fice the Governor appointed Stephen O'Meara, an old friend and retired journalist.

The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad got through several acts authorizing its purchasing or leasing of several street railways in the Western part of the State. An additional school for the feeble minded was established this year.

CHAPTER XXI

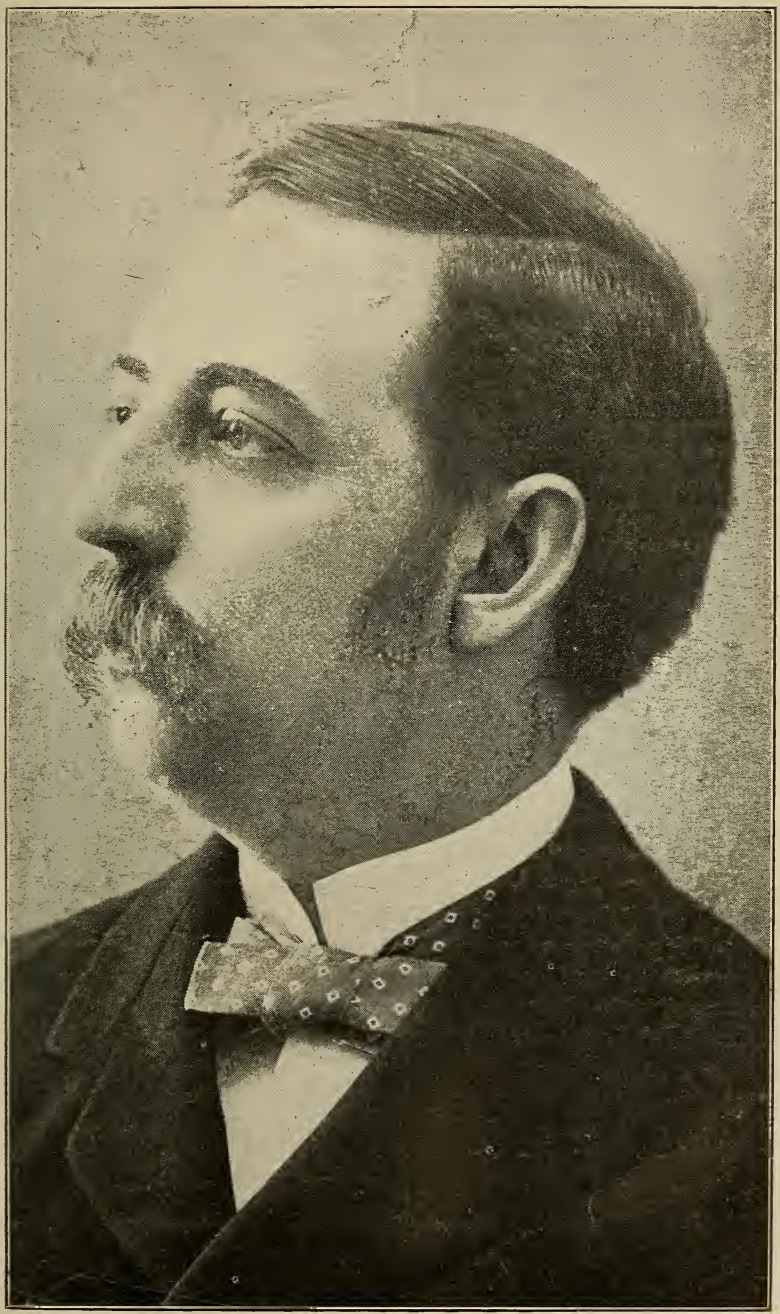
ENTRANCE OF JOHN B. MORAN INTO GUBERNATORIAL FIELD—NOMINATED BY PROHIBITIONISTS, INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE AND DEMOCRATS—E. GERRY BROWN HIS RUNNING MATE—GUILD AND DRAPER RE-ELECTED AFTER STRENUOUS CAMPAIGN.

IN 1906 the radical wing of the Democratic party found in John B. Moran, District Attorney, of Suffolk County, a new and vigorous leader. Moran had been elected District Attorney the year before over Michael J. Sughrue, who had the nominations of the Democrats and the Republicans. Moran's election was a great surprise to many. He ran as an Independent. He had a sharp tongue and he used it on his opponent with telling effect, criticizing the conduct of the District Attorney's office. Moran had always been an "Independent" in politics. He didn't like the party machine leaders and they disliked him. He had supported Republicans for Mayor and Governor and he had long been given up by leading Democrats as irreconcilable.

As District Attorney he had stirred up things in the court house. His opponents charged him with using the great power of his office to make political capital for himself. Men of high standing in the community were hailed before him and questioned as an old time police magistrate would examine a culprit. There is always an element in politics which likes that sort of conduct on the part of a public official. Moran did some good in rattling the dry bones at the court house, but on the whole the good he did was minimized by his playing to the galleries for political effect.

Moran called politicians high and low before him on the least provocation. He brought before him legislators and aldermen on graft charges. He was no respecter of persons. John B. Moran had his faults, but among them were not personal dishonesty or cowardice. He hunted grafters big and little and for a time his presence at Pemberton Sq. had a wholesome effect.

When Moran made up his mind to run for Governor,



Governor Guild.

many of his old opponents got into line and began shouting the praises of the man they had for years denounced as a political bushwhacker but that was not a novelty to those who followed Boston politics. Few of the active practical politicians, in Boston at least, could afford to oppose Moran while he was District Attorney. When the State Democratic convention was held, Moran's friends had control of the State committee and ran things their own way. In those days the members-at-large of the State Committee were chosen in the State convention. Moran's friends dropped the Gastons, the Thayers, the Burnetts and the Quincys and put at the head George Fred Williams who had as his assistants men known to be ardent supporters of Moran.

William R. Hearst was nursing the fond hope of being the Democratic candidate for President in 1908 and had organized the Independence League, manned it by employees of his newspapers and was making a lot of political noise in his Boston organ. To satisfy the Hearst men and the so-called labor element the Moran campaign managers nominated Eldridge Gerry Brown of Brockton for second place on the State ticket. Mr. Brown was one of the incorporators of the Hearst's Independence League in Massachusetts. The Democratic State convention held in Tremont Temple, Oct. 4, marked the passing of the control of the State organization from the "safe and sane" wing of the party, led by Gaston, Currier, Quincy and John A. Sullivan, to the radicals, headed by Moran, Williams, Feeney, Timothy W. and Daniel H. Coakley.

It was a Moran convention, unanimous from beginning to end, except for the indorsement of William Jennings Bryan as the Democratic nominee for the Presidency in 1908. Mr. Moran's campaign manager, Granville S. MacFarland, an editorial writer on Hearst's paper, took the platform and emotionally opposed the proposition of his political sponsor and tutor, George Fred Williams, to indorse Bryan for the Presidency. He vehemently declared that Mr. Moran was not in favor of such action by the convention and said that the indorsement of Bryan would be regarded as an insult to William Randolph Hearst.

Mr. Williams differed with his political protege and said that in offering the Bryan resolution he was only following in the footsteps of Mr. Hearst, who had publicly indorsed

Mr. Bryan as the next candidate of the party for the Presidency in 1908. When the Bryan resolution was put, it was passed with only three voices shouting "No."

The State ticket from top to bottom was a Moran ticket. The platform, read by Ex-Mayor Walter L. Ramsdell of Lynn, who was drafted for the purpose in the absence of John W. Cummings of Fall River, chairman of the committee on resolutions, was the result of the joint efforts of candidate Moran and George Fred Williams. The platform was an elaboration of the Moran declaration of principles issued some time before when Mr. Moran formally announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for Governor. Owing to sudden illness Mr. Moran was unable to respond to the call of the delegates, who sent a committee headed by George Fred Williams to invite him to present himself before the convention after his nomination.

The conservative or corporation element of the State committee kept their agreement made the week before when Chairman Josiah Quincy issued a statement saying that they bowed to the inevitable, and as Mr. Moran appeared to be the choice of the Democrats participating in the caucuses, no obstacles would be placed in his way at the State convention. Nothing was done by the conservatives at the meeting of the State committee to hamper Moran or his friends in the carrying out of their program. When Josiah Quincy called the convention to order, read the call and turned the convention over to Mr. Moran's representative, John P. Feeney, he stepped down and out, and the control of the State organization once more passed into the hands of the radicals. On the same day Mr. Quincy appeared before the City Clerk and took the oath of office as Transit Commissioner, to which position Mayor Fitzgerald had appointed him a few days before.

Everything moved like clock work and it looked as if the convention would be over in an hour or two until Ex-Mayor Ramsdell, in a deep voice, reading the platform, came to that part which referred to Hearst. This was the signal for trouble. There were shouts of disapproval, hisses, cat-calls and disorder. Chairman Feeney pounded the desk and asked the convention to be in order that the resolutions might be read. More confusion followed, and a man shouted: "I want to know where Hearst comes in?"

Mr. Ramsdell went on:

"We shall not want for an exemplar of all that is best and truest in Democracy. The Democracy of the Empire State of New York has nominated for Governor, a man whose tremendous and effective efforts for the advancement of Democracy have been the wonder—"

Cries, groans and hisses, greeted this announcement. A voice cried out: "Rats! rats!" Then Mr. Ramsdell said: "I trust the Democrats of Massachusetts have got sand enough as well as courtesy to listen to the resolutions." He then finished the reference to Hearst amid cheers and hisses and a cry, "We don't care for New York. Give us Massachusetts!" The last expression in the resolutions of hearty wishes for the success of Mr. Hearst was greeted with groans and cries of "No, No!" The vote on the adoption of resolutions was taken and at length Chairman Feeney declared it carried, although Prof Clark of Williams College and John A. Sullivan made speeches against referring to Hearst.

George Fred Williams nominated Moran and the rest of the State ticket was named by acclamation. Mr. Williams offered his resolution seconded by Josiah Quincy that it was the sense of the convention that Bryan should be the next candidate for President. Granville S. McFarland the recognized Hearst leader objected in quite a spirited speech in which he said:

"Gentlemen, I don't know that this resolution will be considered by Mr. Hearst an unfriendly attack upon him. I cannot say that. I do not say it; but I say that it ought to be voted down, because the men behind it, with the single exception of Mr. Williams have introduced it for a felonious purpose in this campaign. I do not find Mr. Quincy seconding a motion in this convention with the intention of being friendly to Mr. Moran. When I find the Greeks bearing gifts I am suspicious of them and I hope the resolution will fail."

The Bryan resolution was adopted by a voice vote. The convention over, the conservative Democrats took to their cyclone cellars, but they reappeared election day. The Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Brown, had a varied and checkered career in politics. He had belonged to practically every party in existence since the Civil War, including the Populists. Election day he polled a remarkably large vote.

In addition to the Democratic nomination, Mr. Moran

had the Prohibition nomination and the nomination of the Independence League. The Drys nominated him in June. Mr. Moran was a teetotaler, but as to his belief in prohibition, his friends had doubts. Shortly after his nomination by the Prohibitionists, June 28, Mr. Moran issued his platform and addressed his political principles to the Democrats of the State. He threw down the gauge of battle to the Democratic State committee and announced that his forces would neither give nor accept quarter. The conservatives headed by Congressman John A. Sullivan tried to induce several prominent Democrats to contest the nomination with Moran, but they all ran to cover.

The Republicans met in State convention at Boston, October 5. Ex-Gov Bates was the presiding officer and the old ticket, Guild and Draper was renominated by acclamation. William H. Moody of Haverhill, Attorney-General in the cabinet of President Roosevelt read the platform.

In accepting the nomination Gov Guild said:

"I am a Republican because I believe as you believe that progressive legislation not in one but in every direction has been and can be best promoted through the instrumentality of the Republican party, which has ever stood fast, not only for its own principles, but for the basic facts of popular government; for equal rights to all, regardless of race or creed; for good faith in finance; for the upholding of National honor abroad as well as at home, and, above all, for resistance alike to the rule of the monopolist or the rule of the mob in the maintenance of ordered liberty under the law.

"Those whom you have entrusted with high office have been left to act as judgment and conscience dictated. The record of the year is before you. He fails in his duty, he is false to his oath of office who seeks by the manipulation of that office merely the promotion of his own personal fortunes.

"One year ago you chose me as your candidate for Governor, and the people at the polls saw fit to ratify your choice. Whether I have filled worthily that high trust is not for me to say. But I am sure that I may with propriety be permitted to rejoice that this second nomination comes from you only after open discussion not only of my official acts but of my known personal convictions on public questions."

The Republican platform was a glorification of the State and National administrations. The convention was devoid of incident save the oratory of Bates, Guild, Lodge and Moody. Melvin O. Adams who nominated Lieutenant Governor Draper warned the Republicans that in the Democratic candidate they had a dangerous opponent and advised the Republicans

that it behooved them to realize that hard work must be done if they were to re-elect their candidate for Governor. Mr. Adams knew Moran well. He had seen him at the bar trying cases civil and criminal and knew that he was an effective pleader.

There was a brief lull after the Democratic State convention and some talk that Moran might not be a candidate after all. His conduct and his words seemed to give a degree of credence to the story. He hied himself to New York where he remained in seclusion for several days with a few close friends, talked with William R. Hearst, came back to Boston, accepted the Democratic nomination and began his campaign.

The campaign was the most exciting and sensational witnessed in many years. Moran was a good campaigner. He drew big crowds in all parts of the State and he hit hard at his opponent. He made many charges against Gov Guild, among them that he had named Senator Dana to the bench because the latter had as President of the Senate prevented the Overtime bill going to him—the same measure that helped defeat Gov Bates. Gov Guild denied the charge and said that he would have signed the bill had it come to him. Moran then demanded why he had appointed the man who had killed the bill to the bench. He accused Gov Guild of accepting money for a eulogy on William McKinley and also of protecting a grafting State commissioner.

The Republicans struck back at Moran and claimed that about all he had done as District Attorney was to use the office to further his own political fortunes.

"I know," declared United States District Attorney French, at a big Republican rally at Tremont Temple, speaking of Moran, "he has pulled down the screens from a few hotel windows and has been rewarded with the nomination of the Prohibitionist party; he has convicted of embezzlement the secretary of a Republican U S Senator; he has unjustifiably dragged before the grand jury a college sophomore for a college prank, the son of the Chief Magistrate of the United States; he has indicted the ice trust, so-called—and has filed the indictment pending his political contest."

From every stump the Republicans kept pounding Moran along these lines. Moran hit back and made it uncomfortable for his opponent. At one time in the campaign, when the Republicans accused Moran of running in the interest of Hearst who was seeking the Presidency, he denied it saying

that if he were elected Governor in 1906 and re-elected in 1907 he, himself, would be a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Several times during his stumping tour of the State, Mr. Moran collapsed on the platform. It was charged by his opponents that this was done to gain the sympathy of his audiences, but his most intimate friends knew that he was then suffering from the disease which ere long was to kill him. Old campaigners declared that never had they seen bigger or more enthusiastic audiences than Moran's. The Moran campaign chest was practically empty. The expenses of the campaign were defrayed from the lean pocket of the candidate and his personal friends. He declined financial assistance from corporations and the few rich who supported him. The cost of his rallies was usually borne by the local committees. Moran was hailed by many as a second Butler. Because of his radicalism, his sharp tongue and hostility to Democratic candidates in previous campaigns, conservative Democrats and Democrats who seldom hesitate to swallow a party candidate refused to support Moran. Many of them voted for Gov Guild but Moran received a big vote from dissatisfied Republicans.

A day or two before election at a meeting of the Norfolk Club, Ex-Gov Long cheered the Republicans saying in his pleasantest vein:

"It does not trouble me that great crowds flock to hear Mr. Moran. Some of you remember Daniel Pratt, the great American traveller who could go into the village square almost anywhere and draw a bigger crowd than President Eliot or President Roosevelt, but he could not get votes. I am not sure that the campaign has been effective as one of education, with results which come from a large general discussion of principles and results. It is beginning to dawn on the people that there is a figure in the background, and through the yellow color (meaning Hearst) it is becoming more and more plain as it advances what its success would mean to the business interests of the Commonwealth and the country if it succeeded."

Moran's campaign ended in Boston with a great indoor meeting and an overflow on the Common of several thousand people. Gov Guild was re-elected by 30,000 and Draper by 9,000, the vote for Governor and Lieutenant Governor being as follows: Curtis Guild, Jr., Republican, 222,528; John B. Moran, Democrat, Democrat, 192,295; Carey, Socialist, 7,938; Bradford, Reform, 3,312; Carroll, Socialist Labor, 2,192. For

Lieutenant Governor the vote was: Draper, 200,747; Brown, 191,138.

The Republicans elected 11 of the 14 Congressmen. The Legislature elected contained the usual Republican majority.

CHAPTER XXII

GOVERNOR GUILD'S SECOND TERM—DEMOCRATS IMPORTANT FACTOR IN HIS RE-ELECTION—WANTED STATE TO HAVE ALL OF CORPORATION TAX—SOUNDS WARNING AGAINST RAILROAD MONOPOLY—ASKS FOR LAW TO CONTROL PRIVATE BANKS AND ANOTHER TO CLOSE BUCKET SHOPS.

IT WAS "with high appreciation" of the trust imposed upon him by the people of the State that Gov Guild for the second time took the oath of office, January 8, 1907. And well he might. He had met and defeated one of the best vote getters in the State at the recent election. He had done more than that. He could congratulate himself that few other men in his party could have stemmed the tide which was running against the Republicans. Many Democrats voted for Guild rather than risk the reins of government in the hands of Moran. They did not relish the idea of Moranizing the Chief Executiveship of the State and being compelled to submit to the same "reign of terror" on Beacon Hill which obtained for a time on Pemberton Square. Although the Democrats never got much credit for electing Guild they contributed largely to it. If they expected reward they didn't get it from the Republican Chief Executive, but then the average New England Democrat doesn't expect his reward in this world.

In the opening of his second inaugural address, Gov Guild discussed the relations between capital and labor.

"I believe," said he, "that better understanding is coming. In the new industrial conditions, brought about by the substitution of machinery for human hands, labor faced capital first with uncovered head, then with clinched fist; but there are not wanting signs that the clasped hands of brotherhood are in the future more truly to symbolize their relation.

"The possession of wealth does not in itself provoke hostility. The vague unrest that is everywhere prevalent is due not so much to envy of the possession of wealth as to resentment against its unfair acquisition and indignation at its arrogant abuse.

"It is a somewhat tragic foot-note to the history of civilization that wealth, the fine old Saxon word meaning happiness, should have become in modern English a mere synonym for material riches, —that wealth should no longer mean well being. It is our happy

privilege to restore in part this ancient and nobler meaning of happiness to the word wealth, that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts may signify indeed not a mere abiding place of riches, but a State whose chief concern is for the common happiness of all within her borders."

He urged uniformity of legislation between States concerning such matters as cannot be constitutionally controlled by the National Government. State finances were discussed at considerable length. He was happy to say that during his first year as Governor, the State debt had been reduced 12½%. He set up the claim that the whole corporation tax belonged to the State instead of to the cities and towns. In his opinion the State should receive one-half the liquor license fees in order to help defray the expenses entailed by the liquor traffic.

Calling attention to the overcrowded condition of the State House, he said business sense and sound economy alike required the immediate construction of an office building for State departments. He favored a graduated tax on direct inheritances. In favoring a tax on motor cars he said:

"I recommend a tax on all motor cars proportionate to horsepower, the entire proceeds to be devoted to the maintenance of State highways. I firmly believe that such a tax would alike remove much of the present complaint against this mode of locomotion, and would vastly add to the comfort of all who use the highways for any purpose."

He recommended:

"That the laws relating to the powers and duties of the Auditor be so amended as to give him authority and require him to audit the accounts of all officials, boards and institutions which receive moneys to be turned into the treasury of the Commonwealth."

On the subject of insurance, especially industrial insurance, of interest to the poor people, he urged a thorough investigation of the high cost of doing business which is added to the insurance cost with a view of cheapening insurance to all the people. He suggested a law

"That as the sailing vessel has the right of way over the steamer on the high seas, so the horse and pedestrian shall for like causes be given, as the weaker, the right of way over the automobile on crossroad and highway.

"I further recommend the establishment of a board of expert examiners for chauffeurs, acting under the Highway Commission. I recommend that no person, owner or chauffeur, without a certificate

of examination in reasonable practical tests in motor management, shall be longer permitted to experiment with dangerous engines on the roads of Massachusetts at the risk of the lives of the citizens of this Commonwealth," said he.

Labor must ever be close to the heart of the politician who would seek votes. Organized labor generally felt that Gov Guild's heart beat true to labor, although it received quite a severe jolt when he named President Dana of the Senate, the man who defeated the Overtime bill, to a justiceship of the Superior Court. Under the head of labor he said:

"The General Court of 1906 was especially progressive in labor legislation. It is apparent, that, to be effective, the law establishing the eight-hour day needs amendment. It is also apparent that further legislation is necessary, that womanhood may be better fitted for motherhood and childhood for citizenship. It is further evident that legislation is necessary providing that any employee of the Commonwealth becoming cognizant in his official capacity of a violation of the factory laws or of any laws of the Commonwealth should be permitted to report such violation to the District Police.

"European nations, not only from religious motives but from motives of social economy and of common humanity, have found it necessary to provide at least one day's rest in seven. If women and children are to be forbidden night work, all workers of all ages and sexes should be given, as far as possible, the one day's rest in seven, especially demanded for a people of strenuous and high-strung nervous activity. Where work of necessity and emergency enforces employment on Sunday, an opportunity should be given the Sunday toiler for some other day of rest."

Referring to the dissatisfaction with railroad passenger and freight service which was then agitating the people of the State, Gov Guild remarked that "the railroads themselves have it in their power materially to relieve congestion, and in cases where they have shown no disposition to exert such power, they should be compelled to do so."

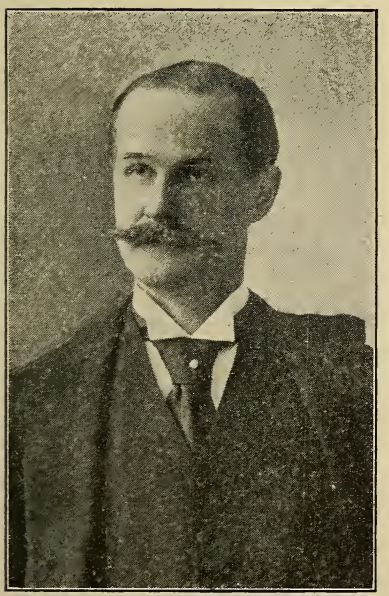
He sounded a warning against transportation monopoly in New England in these words:

"The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company has succeeded in Rhode Island and Connecticut in absorbing many street railways. This tendency has been checked in Massachusetts. Legal proceedings brought by the Attorney General are to decide whether existing law does or does not permit any steam railroad company to absorb one street railway after another, till all are under one board of directors. Pending action of the courts, I merely desire to call your attention to the fact that the question at stake is, whether the control of every express package, every freight shipment, every passenger by through lines or by trolley lines can be vested in one huge corporation.

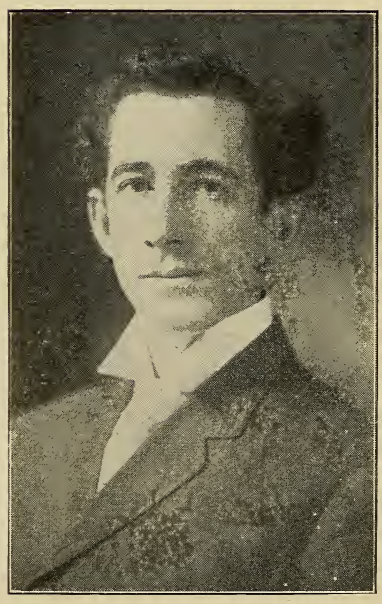
"In the proceedings now pending, the Commonwealth has taken

John B. Moran.

John P. Feeney.



Robert M. Burnett.



James H. Vahey.

the position that such a complete monopoly of transportation is not possible even under existing law.

"The regulation of railroads naturally suggests other regulation. the agitation of years has at last culminated in a national law for the regulation of freight rates on merchandise affected by interstate commerce. It is the business of the State to see to it in other respects that unjust discrimination does not prevail within its own borders."

On many matters of the day Gov Guild was wiser than his generation. How prophetic are these words uttered years before the failure of Henry Seigel Co. disclosing the very thing Gov Guild had forseen even before that firm came to Boston to filch the public:

"Certain department stores have, however, found a means of evading the spirit of the law, under the guise of private bankers, and are soliciting deposits by offering rates of interest thereon which are likely to prove tempting to small depositors of the class that habitually use the savings banks. Such depositors do not appreciate that they are in reality lending their money to merchants, at a rather low rate of interest, and that the failure of the department store would wipe their savings out of existence. I recommend the safeguarding of these small depositors against this practice."

Solicitous for the safeguarding of the savings of the poor, he urged adequate protection of money deposited with foreign banking corporations by the passage of a proper law. This business had grown to be quite extensive, especially among the Italians who entrusted their hard earned money to private bankers of their own nationality who in more than one case, proved recreant to the trust reposed in them by their confiding countrymen.

Gov Guild was a consistent and persistent opponent of the bucket shop and he asked the Legislature to prohibit it from doing business in the State, saying:

"The bucket shop appeals primarily to those who expect and take a gambler's risk. As great, if not greater, evil is the swindling not of speculators, but of small investors, by advertisement of bogus enterprises, notably of questionable mining schemes. We prohibit the sale of poisonous patent medicines and of impure foods. We check by laws against stock watering the inflation of values of genuine property that does exist. I suggest to you the propriety of legislation against the attempted sale through misleading advertising of properties which in somes cases are known to be worthless by the promoters and which in some cases do not exist at all. Experience has shown that there are methods by which the bogus promoter can be made to feel the strong arm of the law. He should not longer be permitted to seek his prey unchecked in Massachusetts."

He likewise had strong opinions on the subject of divorce, for he said on this subject:

"The divorce laws of Massachusetts have for many years been so generally regarded as a model that a suggestion for their amendment may seem superfluous, especially with the improving prospect of national divorce legislation, advocated for years in Massachsuetts. But pending such action I suggest an examination of the laws restricting divorce by collusion, adopted by other States. I suggest to you the propriety of giving the power and means of at least investigating all uncontested divorce cases to some public official in each county, that it may be known that Massachusetts regards the marriage vow as something more than a social convention to be lightly assumed and as lightly abandoned."

These comprised the chief points in his second inaugural address. He concluded by urging against hysterical clamor in law-making and closed by saying:

"The free thought that has followed that free government is in our own day taking from a class to give to the people an increasing opportunity to enjoy a true Commonwealth, a more equitable distribution of the fruits of our prosperity, a more even condition of well being.

"This cannot come by hysterical attacks on the rights of property. Wreck capital, and you annihilate labor.

"It cannot come by the unwise insistence that great corporations should be let entirely alone. Reasonable regulation is the antidote for confiscation.

"It cannot come from a manipulation of the operation of laws by the executive power. It can come by the passage by the legislative power of only such laws as can be enforced.

"It can come only by the recognition that fraternity is the first condition not only of equality but of liberty, and that class hatred and religious prejudice have no place in a free republic.

"Just a generation ago the first of American philosophers set down, as the last word of his last essay:—

"'I see in all directions the light breaking. Trade and government will not alone be the favored aims of mankind, but every useful, every elegant art, every exercise of imagination, the height of reason, the noblest affection, the purest religion, will find their home in our institutions and write our laws for the benefit of men.' The prophecy was Emerson's. The opportunity is ours."

Speaker Cole of the House was reelected and William D. Chappel was chosen President of the Senate. To meet the needs of the Superior Court owing to the increase of business the Legislature authorized the appointment of two additional judges.

The Legislature of 1907 put 587 new laws and 133 resolves into the Blue Book. Six acts were vetoed by Gov Guild. The legislative session lasted 178 days and the Legis-

lature was prorogued Friday, June 28, at 11.14 P. M. Among the memorials to Congress were resolutions favoring a further prosecution of the work of exterminating the gypsy moth in conjunction with the State authorities, another favoring a Federal law for the extermination of dogfish, regarded as a menace to the fisheries of the State. Both branches went on record favoring international peace. Resolutions were passed condemning the New York Central Railroad for its inadequate freight facilities and approved the demand of the public for better freight accommodations. One of the important acts passed by this Legislature was to prohibit bucketing and bucket shopping and to abolish the bucket shop so-called. A board for the establishment of three sanitoriums for tubercular patients was authorized. The election laws were once more overhauled and former statutes were repealed inconsistent with the new laws affecting primaries and elections.

Additional subway facilities for Boston were provided by another act. The Insurance laws were strengthened in behalf of the policy holder as suggested by the Governor in his inaugural.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FAMOUS "PINK TICKET" SPRINGFIELD DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1907—TWO DEMOCRATIC NOMINEES, GEN BARTLETT AND HENRY M WHITNEY.

MORAN'S tremendous vote of the year before — the largest a Democratic candidate had ever received for Governor — encouraged the Democrats to believe that they were within hailing distance of the goal of their ambition, but early in the year Moran announced that his health would not permit him to make another gubernatorial campaign. He contented himself with planning to run for re-election as District Attorney. He held aloof from all other political activities. Moran's retirement from the gubernatorial situation opened wide the field. No radical of prominence stepped into the breach. The "safe and sane" Democrats, taking courage, began to plan for the return of the conservative element and the control of the State organization. They trotted out as their candidate for Governor Henry M. Whitney.

As early as May, the Whitney men began to get busy among the legislators. A poll of the Democratic members of the House and Senate showed that Whitney was the choice of a large majority of them. Whitney sentiment cropped out all over the State. Mr. Whitney was convinced that there was a real demand for him and he began an active, dignified, campaign for the nomination. Here and there was manifested slight opposition to him at the start. Gen. Bartlett evinced a desire to be considered again and placed himself "in the hands of his friends."

Mr. Whitney, sticking to old campaign notions, believed that the way to reach the voters was through their bellies. He opened his campaign for the nomination with a big mass meeting at Combination Park, Medford. One of Boston's well known caterers was engaged to satisfy the inner man. After hand-shaking, congratulations, sporting events, etc., everybody adjourned to a big tent where the choicest dishes

of the season were temptingly set forth. When all had satisfied their appetites the speaking began. While Mr. Whitney was speaking, a man named O'Keefe, a member of the State Committee interrupted the prospective gubernatorial candidate with the question: "How about the mer-ger?" using the hard g in the last syllable in merger. Mr. Whitney, who is a little hard of hearing, asked the man repeat the question, and answered that he would state his position on that question later in the campaign.

It proved to be the rock or one of the rocks on which the Democrats split in the campaign. Only a few of those who heard the question propounded realized what an important question it was and what its answer meant to the candidate of the Democracy and to the Democratic party. The question of a merger of the Boston & Maine Railroad and the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad was then so far advanced that people began to wonder if Mr. Whitney's candidacy was in any way connected with it. As a Boston & Maine director, as a former head of the Boston Chamber of Commerce and identified with large business enterprises, many believed that his candidacy was in some way related to the scheme to monopolize the railroads of the State.

That one question: "How about the merger?" bothered Mr. Whitney and his political managers and it kept plaguing them during the campaign. The Bartlett men made it one of the leading issues of their campaign. During the Summer both rival Democratic camps were active. Bartlett and Whitney made several speeches and stated their positions on all of the important questions including the railroad merger. Mr. Whitney was for the merger and Gen. Bartlett opposed it. The Independence League's candidate for Governor was Thomas L. Hisgen, of West Springfield, an oil dealer.

When the delegates were elected to the State convention the Whitney men felt confident that they had a majority. The Bartlett managers disputed their claims and both sides lined up for the convention battle. The anti-Whitney men controlling the State Committee chose Springfield for the holding of the State convention and fixed the date October 6.

The afternoon before the convention a special train from Boston carried the delegates from the eastern sections of the State to Springfield where the State Committee was to meet, select the permanent chairman of the convention and agree

on other details. The Whitney men didn't lack funds and no Whitney delegate was obliged to absent himself from the convention because he couldn't afford the expense. Somebody financed the anti-Whitney wing—some said it was Thomas W. Lawson, the broker. Lawson had quarrelled with Whitney and to many there seemed to be a motive on Lawson's part for making trouble for his whilom State Street friend. In the entourage of Gen. Bartlett at Springfield were many faces unfamiliar to Democratic convention goers. The train had not left the South Station before the report was started that the anti-Whitney men had secured the services of a lot of strong arm, disreputable characters, picked up from the under-world to "rough house" the convention.

As proof of their deftness, one of this class relieved Mr. Whitney of his pocket book which contained considerable money and some railroad passes. A few days after the convention Mr. Whitney received his pocket book minus his money. A note enclosed in the pocket book read: "Just to show you what we could do."

On the way to Springfield Congressman Keliher took a trip through the train looking for familiar faces of persons who had not been elected at the caucuses and reported to Mr. Whitney that there were at least 10 men whose presence was "suspicious."

"If those men are allowed in the convention tomorrow it will be the gravest mistake that can be made by the men who seek the defeat of Mr. Whitney," said the Congressman. "It is an element which must be controlled and suppressed the first minute of the convention, or else the Democratic party's interest will suffer. We have all heard that these men are to be given entrance to the theatre, but we hope that more judicious counsel will be followed."

Daniel F. Buckley, Mr. Whitney's campaign manager, said he did not care how many "extra rooters" were in the convention. "We have the delegates," said he, "and the votes count against any other method."

Arriving in Springfield the delegates separated, the Whitney men going to one hotel and the Bartlett supporters to another. It was nearly midnight when the first test of the relative strength of the two candidates in the Democratic State Committee disclosed the control of that body resting in the adherents of Gen Charles W. Bartlett, and also made

it certain that the temporary organization of the convention the next day would be dictated by Bartlett. The State Committee had a protracted session at the Haynes House to select a temporary chairman. The Bartlett men produced a majority. In the first place the followers of Gen. Bartlett forced a vote appointing a sub-committee of five of the executive committee to report a temporary organization to the full committee.

The Bartlett men who had a majority of three in the State Committee selected Daniel J. Kiley for temporary chairman of the convention over Joseph A. Conry by a vote of 23 to 21. When the matter of selecting a chairman on resolutions was reached the Bartlett people again had their way and named George Fred Williams. Congressman Joseph F. O'Connell was made chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

Dwight O. Gilmore, owner of the Court-Square Theatre, where the convention was held, said the night before the convention, that he had let the theatre to P. J. Mitchell, a local politician, for the Democratic State Committee and that his understanding of the matter was that the hall would be turned over to Daniel J. Kiley, chairman of the Executive Committee of the State Committee, who would have complete control of the theatre and from whom he (Gilmore) would take orders.

Chairman John P. Feeney, of the State Committee, personally assured the Whitney managers that he would give everybody a square deal in the convention. The Bartlett men having control of the convention gave out pink tickets to their followers admitting them to the convention. From these tickets the convention got its name.

In the street, the night before the convention, not far from the Bartlett headquarters were batteries of rockets and gorgeous lights kept going as long as the supply lasted. Across the street a sheet covered the front of a building and upon it were thrown by a stereopticon criticisms of Henry M. Whitney and his support of the proposed railroad merger. Gen. Bartlett's exposition of the principles of democracy, his opposition to the trusts and his stand for the "people" were proclaimed in the illuminated lettering.

Delegates got very little rest the night before the convention. The Whitney men realized that the Bartlett men

were cooking up something for them. Money for expenses seemed to be plentiful in both camps and it was not an uncommon sight to see a delegate who was more used to coffee and rolls for his morning meal breakfasting on chicken and champagne. By nine o'clock in the morning the holders of the pink tickets began to move over to the Court Square Theatre. They had no difficulty getting in but the Whitney men with their credentials, many of them among the best known Democrats of the State, were kept waiting in line for hours before they were admitted. When they did get in to the convention they found the theatre filled with Bartlett "delegates." Among the latter were prize fighters and other disreputable characters transported from Boston for strong-arm and strong-lung work. It was not until then that the Whitney people fully grasped what had been going on.

Although but one convention was called there were two conventions, both held in the Court Square Theatre. The Bartlett convention, which held the stage, was presided over by Daniel J. Kiley. Joseph A. Conry acted as chairman of the Whitney convention. Both gatherings were devoid of deliberation.

Charles W. Bartlett was nominated for Governor by acclamation by a tumultuous body which occupied the orchestra seats in the theatre. John Alden Thayer of Worcester was named for Lieutenant Governor. Gen Bartlett accepted the nomination, but Mr. Thayer sent word that he would not permit his name to stand on the ticket. Later he appeared before the Whitney delegates and repudiated the nomination of the Bartlett convention and announced that he would support Whitney.

The Whitney forces assembled in the rear of the orchestra circle, nominated Whitney, with George A. Schofield of Ipswich for Lieutenant Governor.

The first convention was called to order at 11 A. M. by John P. Feeney, chairman of the State Committee, but at that time only a small number of the Whitney delegates were able to gain admittance. Bartlett supporters, to the number of about 300, held all the orchestra seats and also filled the boxes.

Although Mr. Feeney was informed that delegates to the number of 400 had not arrived, he called the convention to order, and as the Bartlett men had the hall, their candi-

date for Chairman, Daniel J. Kiley, of Boston was vociferously elected. There were not enough Whitney men present to raise a formidable opposition, and after Mr. Kiley took the gavel he gave little consideration to any suggestion or motion offered by a Whitney man. The business was rushed through, a committee on credentials reporting 700 of the 750 delegates present. George Fred Williams submitted a set of resolutions which were immediately adopted in an uproar. Few except those on the stage comprehended what was being done because of the disorder.

A few of the Whitney delegates and their leaders who succeeded in getting in conducted their convention while the rival convention of their opponents was transacting its business. At 1.30 the Whitney men followed their leaders to the Massasoit House a short distance away and denounced the acts of the Bartlett convention. Many signed a protest drawn by Mr. Whitney's legal advisers regarding the procedure of the convention stating that they were unable to gain admission to the hall and that if they had been able to have participated in the convention, they would have supported the Whitney ticket. For several hours there was pandemonium in the theatre, and a spectacle such as probably never before marked a political gathering in the State.

Thomas W. Proctor of Boston nominated Gen Bartlett in one convention and Congressman John A. Sullivan nominated Henry M. Whitney in the other. The Whitney men didn't waste time in long speeches and went through hurriedly all the forms of a nominating convention. Mounting a chair and addressing the chairman of the Whitney convention Congressman Keliher spoke as follows:

"Now, fellow Democrats, as an object lesson, I want you to wait here and not participate in the convention that is being held in the front of the hall, but to stay here and witness the infamy there being indulged in in the name of a convention. My God, democracy, what crimes are committed in thy name! We find George Fred Williams occupying a place on the platform. My friends, it must be apparent to all that he is the emissary of the Republican party and that his mission is to disrupt our party.

"They talk of money. And that arch trader of State Street, the man who has wrecked more homes in the last 15 years than any disease or pestilence is actually dominating this convention on my left. I refer to Thomas W. Lawson.

"I want to call attention to this fact; that we went before the State Committee last night and made a motion that we have representation upon the door to scan the credentials to this convention,

and we were refused. In the place of delegates commissioned by Democratic constituencies to carry out their wishes as expressed by them, we find the police preventing the entrance of hundreds of bona fide delegates to this convention. We asked for a roll call to decide which is a majority party in this convention. This roll call in convention has been denied us."

Speeches were made by Charles S. Hamlin, William S. McNary, and John A. Sullivan at the Whitney convention denouncing the Bartlett convention. The Whitney platform made tariff reform the leading issue. The Bartlett document attacked the railroad merger saying on that point:

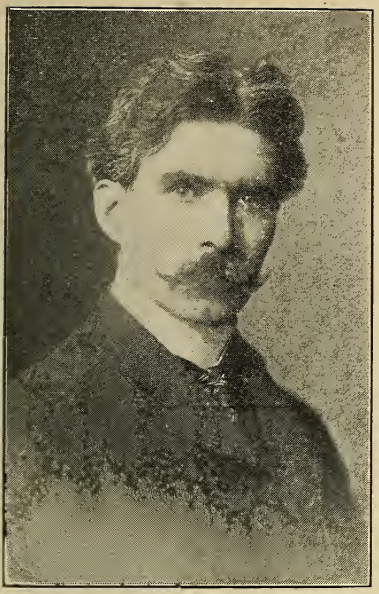
"One corporation, the New York, New Haven and Hartford railroad of Connecticut, is attempting to obtain sole and absolute sway over the transportation of New England. Its policy is that of undisputed monopoly. It has purchased large interests in steamship companies, until it controls most of the southern New England service. It has acquired between 1000 and 2000 miles of trolley lines in Rhode Island and Connecticut, and in defiance of the law has begun the purchase of street railways in Massachusetts. It has bought and is operating gas and electric light companies. It has recently reorganized in Connecticut under a charter giving it power to transact mercantile, manufacturing, mining, brokerage and banking businesses. It is without safeguards against the watering of its stock such as our commonwealth imposes upon railroads, and already it has loaded debt upon debt until its liabilities amount to over $300,000,000.

"It has obtained trackage rights on the Boston & Albany Railroad which will enable it to cripple the traffic of that railroad at any time.

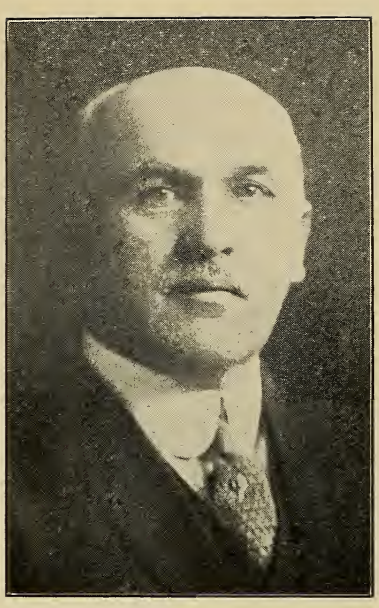
"This corporation is now about to complete its monopoly of New England transportation by merging with itself its only remaining competitor, the Boston and Maine Railroad. It has upon the admission of its president, already secured a controlling interest of stock in this railroad.

"Our Legislature has suspended this scheme by providing that such stock shall not be voted prior to July 1, 1908. Unless the next Legislature shall enact further prohibitive laws, all railroad competition in New England will be at an end, and a giant monopoly controlling all lines of transportation in Massachusetts will be an established fact. The destiny of our Commonwealth will then be in the hands of a speculative corporation, crippled by a huge debt, and governed in New York by the great chiefs of industrial monopoly in the nation. This monopoly involves the industrial, commercial and political indebtedness of New England, is opposed to the established policy of our Commonwealth, and contrary to the will of our people.

"The Democracy of Massachusetts protests against the perfection of such a monopoly, condemns any candidates who approve it, and demands from the next Legislature the enactment of laws to prevent the merger of the Boston and Maine railroad."



Daniel F. Buckley.



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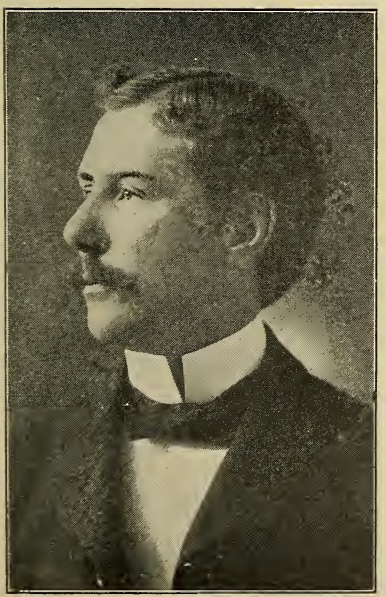
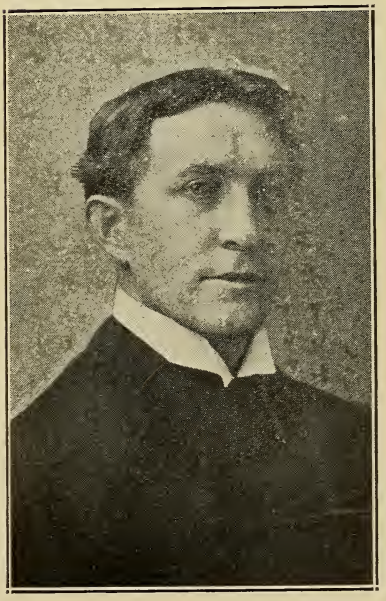


Joseph A. Conry.



John A. Keliher.

The two tickets nominated by the two conventions conducted simultaneously in the same hall were as follows:

BARTLETT TICKET.

Governor—Charles W. Bartlett of Newton.
Lieutenant Governor—John A. Thayer of Worcester.
Secetary of State—Charles Z. E. Chareste of Holyoke.
Treasurer and Receiver General—William P. Connery of Lynn.
Attorney General—Harvey H. Pratt of Scituate.
Auditor—Daniel L. Shea of Chicopee.

WHITNEY TICKET.

Governor—Henry M. Whitney of Brookline.
Lieutenant Governor—George A Schofield of Ipswich.
Secetary of State—Charles Z. E. Chareste of Holyoke.
Treasurer and Receiver General—Arthur Lyman of Waltham.
Attorney General—David F. O'Connell of Worcester.
Auditor—Joseph A. Conry of Boston.

The legality of the Bartlett nomination was brought before the State Ballot Law Commission and after a lengthy hearing that body found that Gen Bartlett was not legally nominated and that Mr. Whitney was the Democratic nominess. George Fred Williams declared the decision to be the worst political scandal in the history of the State.

Gen Bartlett became a candidate on an anti-merger platform and the official ballot bore the following names for governor:

Charles W. Bartlett of Newton.....Anti Merger
Thomas F. Brennan of Salem.....Socialist Labor
John W. Brown of Worcester.....Socialist
Hervey S. Cowell of Ashburnham.....Prohibition
Curtis Guild Jr of Boston.....Republican
Thos. L. Hisgen of West Springfield..Independence League
Henry M. Whitney of Brookline.....Democratic
Henry M. Whitney of Brookline.....Democratic Citizens'

The campaign on the Democratic end was lively but, of course, the party was doomed to defeat. The Republicans did not give up their activities and prosecuted their campaign with vigor. They had the significant Moran figures of the year before to remind them that the opposition to them was large and increasing. Had the Democrats been united and harmonious, they would, in all probability, have defeated the

Republicans. Gov Guild and Draper "won in a walk" as the saying is, the vote for Governor being:

Guild	188,068
Whitney	84,379
Hisgen	75,499
Bartlett	11,194
Brown	7,621
Cowell	2,810
Brennan	2,999

For Lieutenant Governor:

Draper	173,619
Brown	84,050
Schofield	82,769

CHAPTER XXIV

THIRD TERM OF GUILD—SEVERE ILLNESS—DRAPER ACTING GOVERNOR—PUBLIC DELIGHT AT GOVERNOR'S RECOVERY.

GOV GUILD took the oath of office as Chief Executive for the third time January 2, 1908. The hopeless division among the Democrats left no room for doubt about the result of the recent election. For the second time Curtis Guild Jr could feel grateful to his Democratic opponents who were really friends in disguise. The Democratic quarrel made the election of the Republican nominee inevitable. While the Democrats were fighting among themselves, the Republicans could afford to look on with satisfaction. Democratic party politics had reached their lowest ebb in the State. Many broad-minded Republicans sincerely regretted the disgraceful scenes and methods that characterized the "Pink Ticket" convention at Springfield.

As citizens of Massachusetts they were sorry to see the old party of Jefferson, Jackson and Cleveland out distanced election day by a mongrel ticket sailing under the misnomer of "Independence" when, as a matter of fact, it was dependent absolutely on the whim and caprice of one man. Under the designation Democrat, Mr. Whitney's vote was 70,842, but his name appeared on the ballot under three other designations and his combined vote exceeded that of Whitney. Many Democrats vowed after the Springfield convention that they would never again be found supporting any of the arch conspirators in that nondescript aggregation of political nobodies, but politicians have short memories and some of the leaders in this convention have since had the support of their party for high honors. Time, the great leveler of all things, has justified the attitude the "Pink Ticket" leaders took towards Mr. Whitney. Subsequent events proved that the railroad merger he advocated was injurious to New England and that those behind the scheme, and prominent respectable financiers, were looting the railroad treasuries and were

engaged in a system of "frenzied finance" that brought one-time gilt edged railroad securities tumbling down to a fraction of their supposed values.

George Fred Williams hailed the defeat of Whitney as a "glorious victory" and it looked for a time as if the old Democratic party had passed on to a heavenly reward. Under the circumstances, Gov Guild could afford to be magnanimous in his inaugural and he was for the most part. From the election returns he seemed to gather inspiration and renewed courage in his attitude toward great public service corporations.

"We must control," said he, "we have controlled great public service corporations. The alternative of such control is not individualism, but socialism. If, however, there is a year when it is particularly desirable to avoid recklessly sensational onslaughts on property, shattering public confidence, curtailing commerce, checking investment, reducing alike the earnings of capital and the employment of labor, it is this year 1908.

"Public service corporations have found that public regulation knows no favorites. In some, abuses have been corrected; in some, the charge to the public has been materially reduced. In every case, however, the Commonwealth has maintained, as it ever must maintain, quietly if possible, but conspicuously, if necessary, the dignity and inviolability of its statutes no matter what the result."

These words were interpreted to mean that the public service corporations, especially the railroads must keep their place and render adequate service to the public or be further regulated. Again, he urged still further safeguards for the savings of the people saying:

"During the session of 1907 the foreign steamship agents who do a banking business were placed under the supervision of the Bank Commissioner. Foreign banking corporations doing a savings bank business here were also compelled to invest such deposits under the same laws that cover the investments of our Massachusetts savings banks. I believe that the depositor of savings should receive uniform treatment, no matter where his savings are deposited, and therefore recommend to you that this same principle should be extended to trust companies doing a savings bank business."

Railroad management and railroad legislation came in for considerable discussion in his inaugural in 1908. On this subject he made the following remarks:

"I suggest for your consideration, not in any one specific case, but as a matter of general policy, these propositions:

"1—Shall a steam railroad be allowed to control trolley lines?

"The intent of the law of Massachusetts clearly prohibits such

control. The competition in passenger service, and, since the law of 1907, in express service between steam and street railroads, is, I believe healthy, and should be maintained.

"2—Should an express company be permitted to control a railroad and through a railroad freight rates?

"I believe that the influence of express companies in the control of railroads hampers their development and tends to damage the general interest of the public. I believe that the ownership of railroad stocks by express companies should be discouraged.

"3—Should railroad companies be permitted to own or to control or to establish steamship lines?

"Under a Massachusetts charter, which we all desire for all roads in this Commonwealth, even beneficial extension of business along these lines is practically impossible."

Of course, the railroad managers referred to in the Governor's address didn't like the following observations he made about outside control of Massachusetts railroads:

"We have three steam railroad systems in Massachusetts; one is a Connecticut corporation, one is dominated by an express company with headquarters in New York, one is leased by the New York Central Railroad and cannot be combined with the others without violating the national law prohibiting the consolidation of competing lines doing an interstate business.

"This condition is bad. The surrender to any outside corporation of all local control of Massachusetts transportation would be worse. One condition must at all events be enforced in any proposed consolidation; stringent permanent provisions should be made against any control of any New England road by any corporation, American or Canadian, with an Atlantic terminal for eastbound freight anywhere outside New England. I believe any possible combination should be effected not by a lease imposing permanent extravagant fixed charges alike on the corporation and the public, but by a community of interest between two systems both of which in Massachusetts should run under Massachusetts charters, each supplementing the other, with headquarters in Boston, and managed solely for the development of New England.

"I believe it is worth trying by new legislation not merely to escape the surrender of the relics of New England control which we at present possess, but to recover the control that we have already lost, that not merely New England legislatures but New England railroads may strike at the shackles about New England commerce, and stimulate New England industry."

He requested

"That the Governor and Council be given authority to reimburse commissioners, within the limits of any future appropriation for any unpaid commission, or when citizens are officially sent to represent the Commonwealth at National conventions, to reimburse such delegates to such extent as may be found by the Governor and Council to have been necessary by their giving as commissioners or delegates their services to the Commonwealth.

'The total expense thus incurred in any given year is not bur-

densome to the community, though highly important to the individual. Equality before the law demands that no class of citizens should be debarred, by the necessity of sustaining personal loss, from accepting an opportunity to give, when desired, the benefit of their knowledge and experience to the Commonwealth."

In urging further restrictions in the corrupt practices act Gov Guild said:

"The General Court last year forbade all corporations under supervision or regulation by the Commonwealth to contribute to campaign funds. I rejoice that such action was taken. I ask you to join me in extending that prohibition to all corporations, regardless of their character, not alone that we may secure a greater measure of purity in public elections, but that we may secure higher business ideals in the management of corporations. An individual has a right to give away his own money, firms have a right to give away their own money, for any legitimate use they may desire. The officers of a corporation, however, have no right for any reason to give away money which is not theirs for purposes other than those connected with the business of the corporation. Still less have they the right to make expenditures which do not appear in the corporation accounts, and of which the stockholders are ignorant. The Legislature of 1906 voted no money out of the public treasury even to the sufferers by fire and earthquake at San Francisco. They contributed out of their own pockets. I commend this example of conduct of the over-abused legislator to the over-extolled business man. Let us forbid any corporation of any kind to contribute to any political organization."

Condemning the demands of churches, and of benevolent and charitable associations for money from candidates for public office, he asked be prohibited by law, observing:

"It is time that a halt was called on practices which, even on the part of well-intentioned people, handicap a man of modest means from becoming a candidate or for holding public office in this Commonwealth.

"The same principle imperatively demands some restriction on the hiring of men to work at the polls. It is a known fact that this so-called legitimate expenditure, now subject to no limitation, has been used as a cover for direct bribery. The purposes for which men may be hired and the number should be clearly limited by law, and the bribing of voters under the pretence of hiring workers should be made a penal offense."

Once more the Governor sought to impress his views on taxation on the legislators. On the corporation tax distribution he had this to say illustrating its inconsistencies and inequitability:

"Under the present system, the city of Boston pays in direct State tax one million and a half, and receives back in distribution

of revenue from the corporation tax nine hundred and eighty thousand dollars. The town of Brookline pays one hundred and twelve thousand dollars in direct taxes, and receives back in corporation tax distribution two hundred and two thousand dollars.

"The struggling city is mulcted half a million a year, while the rich town actually collects for its own local expenditures out of the treasury of the Comomnwealth ninety thousand a year by the operation of the present absurd and illogical system.

"Governor after Governor has incurred local unpopularity in favored towns and cities, by calling attention to this gross injustice; but injustice it is, and for the third time I ask for its correction. Return the corporation tax to the State, and lift rhe direct tax from the people.

"I trust that Massachustts may take the lead, even at some slight sacrifice to her own revenue, if need be, in inaugurating a campaign for interstate and international comity; a campaign against the double, sometimes triple taxation possible under present conditions; for fair play to every man all around, whether the man in question is or is not a Massachusetts citizen or an American citizen."

The Governor advocated reorganizing the laws on drunkenness and the improvement of the probation laws. Discussing judiciary reform he said:

"Last year I had the honor of calling the attention of the General Court, and I am happy to say effectively, to the need of reform in the selection of juries. The laws of the Commonwealth in prescribing maximum and minimum sentences for the same crime leave to the discretion of the individual judges the precise penalty to be suffered by any classes of criminals.

"I recommend that the chief justice of the Superior Court be authorized at his discretion from time to time to call judges of the Commonwealth to a conference on such matters as may to him seem fit, that the personal equation in issuing sentences to convicted criminals may as far as possible be eliminated, and that, as far as possible, the same offence, no matter where or before whom tried, may meet with the same penalty."

Under the head of child labor he said:

"The last Legislature prohibited night work in factories for women and children. I ask you to consider the adoption of the eight-hour day for all children under sixteen years of age. I also ask of you that not merely a certificate of age but a medical certificate of health shall be required before any minor is set at work at any occupation"

A lover of the flag of his State and country—one who uncovered in the presence of Old Glory, Gov Guild asked that the State flag be protected and preserved by law, saying:

"The white flag of Massachusetts, the emblem of the Commonwealth, floats above a State House where one law after another has

been framed that has been copied or imitated by other States or by the Nation. Side by side with the National colors the stainless flag of the Bay State, with the Indian and the pine tree, has stood in the forefront of the battle line, and the eyes of the dying Massachusetts volunteer have lighted at the sight before they closed. The seal of the Commonwealth is established by statute. The flag, its ancient emblems dating back to the foundation of the original colony, exists only as the result of executive orders, dependent alone on the Commander-in-Chief.

"I ask you that the flag as it at present exists be preserved forever by statute, that it may never be changed by the whim of a Governor, as it now at any time may be, but only by permission of the people, through their representatives.

"I further ask you that in future every public armory, arsenal, hospital, every institution of Massachusetts, be ordered to fly the white flag of the Commonwealth."

His peroration, part of which follows, evoked the heartiest applause from the crowded galleries and the floor of the House of Representatives.

"This year at Provincetown and at Gloucester, town, Commonwealth, and Nation have commemorated the founders of New England. Our institutions are founded on the rock of their ideals; the construction must be our own Not the blood of the Pilgrims only —Hollander, Scottish, Irish and Venetian blood ran in the veins of those who at Provincetown extolled the Anglo-Saxon origin of this Commonwealth. In one sense Boston is no longer a Puritan capital. In one sense Massachusetts is no longer a Puritan Commonwealth.

"It is a proof of the nobility of a Nation that its principles should attract the support of the active, the able, the aspiring, among all the complaining millions of men.

"A half dozen desperate sailors flung forth their lives to the risk of drowning and explosion with Hobson at Santiago. One of them is a boy from Lowell.

"Cuba and the Philippines bring upon the United States new and untried responsibilities. The only man who in both West Indies and East Indies is a success in the field, in diplomacy, in civil government, is a Massachusetts sailor

"The Vatican seeks a pioneer to transact the important and delicate mission of establishing necessary privileges at Tokio. Among the prelates of the world the ablest and the fittest for the task is found to be a Massachusetts clergyman.

"The most venerable association of scholars in France after a seclusion of centuries seek light for the first time on the development of the language and letters which belong to us as well as to the birthplace of Chaucer and Shakespeare. The authority they welcome is the Massachusetts historian of American literature.

"Czar and Mikado seek to end a contest by land and sea that shakes the world. The messenger of peace is a Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

"Shall we concern ourselves with the place from which the ancestors of these men came, whether the blood of their forefathers was English or Irish or French or Hollander or German? As well

claim Abraham Lincoln as merely of Massachusetts because his ancestors came from Hingham.

"Let us rejoice at the high example of those who have gone before us, but let us exult that today the men of Massachusetts, men of our own new and splendid race, the American race, not only uphold the best ideals and lofty purpose of the Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts, but are extending the name, the influence, the honor of the American Commonwealth of Massachusetts to spheres beyond the Pilgrims' wildest dream, to lands where even the name of the Puritan is unknown."

A few weeks after his inauguration Gov Guild was stricken with a severe illness and for weeks his life was despaired of. He was unable to attend to his duties as Governor for a period of four months, during which time Lieutenant Governor Eben S. Draper discharged the duties of the office. The illness of Gov Guild cast a gloom for some time over the whole commonwealth and his popularity among the people was demonstrated in many ways. Race, creed and politics were forgotten for the time being and everybody joined in the prayer that the Chief Executive be spared and restored to his duties. It must have been a great satisfaction to his family and himself to know that all the people of the State were sincerely anxious for his recovery. Again in August Gov Guild was stricken with appendicitis and again the Lieutenant Governor was obliged to act as Governor. Mr. Draper discharged the duties of the office with great credit to himself proving that he was in every way qualified to discharge the onerous and exacting duties of the office.

The presiding officers of both branches of the Legislature of the year before were reelected for the session of 1908. The Legislature lasted 165 days and adjourned June 13, at 6.14 P. M. Six hundred and fifty acts and 146 resolves were passed. Seven acts and one resolve were allowed to become laws without the signature of the Governor and nine acts and two resolves were vetoed relating to special legislation for individuals.

CHAPTER XXV

NATIONAL AND STATE CAMPAIGNS OF 1908—GOV GUILD AND JOHN HAYS HAMMOND CANDIDATES FOR REPUBLICAN VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION—DEMOCRATS UNITED FOR BRYAN—TAFT NOMINATED BY REPUBLICANS FOR PRESIDENT—DRAPER REPUBLICAN, VAHEY DEMOCRATIC GUBERNATORIAL NOMINEES.

LONG before the Spring campaign for delegates to the Republican National Convention began in this State in 1908, President Roosevelt had decided on his own successor. His choice was William Howard Taft, of Ohio, his Secretary of War and former Governor of the Philippines where he had been sent by President McKinley soon after the acquisition of those islands. Mr. Taft was United States Circuit Court judge and lived in Cincinnati, where he was born. He came from fine old New England stock. His mother was from Millbury, Massachusetts. When a lad Taft spent his summer vacations with his Aunt Delia Torrey of Millbury. He was called "Millbury Taft" by those who knew him in his school days.

He had made a splendid reputation as Governor of the Philippines. It would have been hard for President McKinley to have found a better man to spread his doctrine of "benevolent assimilation." He was by nature peculiarly fitted for this task. A big, broad, humane American, he made the Yankee yoke of government as light as possible and held out to the Filipinos the hope of self-government as soon as they were deemed capable of managing their own public affairs. Having accomplished the difficult task given him in the Orient, and having won the admiration of McKinley's successor, President Roosevelt called him home and made him Secretary of War.

A lot of Republicans disliked the idea of Roosevelt picking his own successor. It smacked too much of a perpetuation of a Roosevelt dynasty at the White House, they said. Mr. Roosevelt had incurred the enmity of a large and important faction of his own party. Some disliked him person-

President Taft.

ally. Others looked on him as a dangerous political force who had more than once defied the Constitution when it seemed to interfere with his plans. This element, headed by prominent members of Congress argued that to allow Taft to be nominated would mean four more years of Rooseveltian policies. In view of what happened after Mr. Taft became President, it would seem as if these men were no better prophets than they were politicians. Mr. Taft proved that he was no man's chattel, that he had entirely different ideas about many public questions than his former chief and that rather than be the puppet of any man, he preferred political defeat.

"You'll take me or Taft," President Roosevelt was often quoted as saying during the campaign for delegates in 1908. The opposition to the White House candidate was known as the "Allies" and its candidate was Vice-President Fairbanks. To Ex-Congressman Samuel L. Powers of Newton, a close personal friend of Secretary Taft's was assigned the duty of lining up the Republicans of Massachusetts for the White House candidate. Senator Crane was one of those in the inner circle of "The Allies." He let it be known that it would please him if Massachusetts sent uninstructed delegates to the National convention. In February Mr. Taft in his "swinging round the circle" came into New England territory and his supporters made the most of his visit.

Gen. Edgar L. Champlin, of Cambridge was head of the anti-Taft movement. The gumshoe politicians had a few busy weeks of it. Yards and yards of statements were fired off from the typewriter batteries of both camps. It was apparent that Taft had the votes. The Massachusetts Allies forces declared that they were not against Taft or any other Republican. The Taft men relented by saying that while they would not insist on instructions or pledges of delegates, they would demand that district conventions go on record endorsing the candidacy of Taft and they succeeded in having their way in a majority of them. Defeated in a majority of the district conventions the anti-Taft men kept up the fight until long into the morning of the day of the State convention, when a compromise was reached and the promised fight on the floor of the convention was abandoned.

Postmaster General Meyer was the presiding officer of the convention. The Taft managers consented to a compro-

mise declaration in which it was stated that for party reasons it was not considered wise to indicate any preference for President in the party platform, but recognized that a majority of the delegates desired the nomination of Mr. Taft. It was another demonstration of the wonderful mesmeric power possessed by Senators Lodge and Crane over Republican conventions, when they pooled their strength. The lions of the Taft league and the lambs of the "Allies" laid down together. Politicians who sat up the night before the convention hurling defiance at the senatorial combination, came into the convention hall the next day to the tune of the "Merry Widow" waltz, and were ready to eat out of the hands that had smote them hip and thigh a few hours before.

There wasn't a yip out of the Taft men during the convention except an occasional cheer when the name of the Secretary of War was mentioned by the speakers.

The four delegates-at-large chosen were: Senators Lodge and Crane, Ex-Gov John D. Long and Sidney O. Bigney, a prominent jewelry manufacturer of Attleboro and a former member of the Governor's Council who was not on the organization slate at first. Bigney refused to be side-tracked and announced that if the State Committee didn't keep its hands off his boom they would hear from him in no uncertain tone. The State Committee quit, erased the name of Bates from its slate and wrote that of Bigney in its place.

Commenting on the result of the State convention, Manager Powers of the Taft forces humorously remarked after adjournment: "The convention reminds me of a few lines I learned while in college, which ran as follows:

"There was a young lady in Riga
Who rode with a smile on a tiger.
They returned from the ride
With the lady inside
And the smile on the face of the tiger."

When the National Convention was held in Chicago, in June the Roosevelt-Taft forces beat the "Allies" to a "frazzle" as Col Roosevelt expressed it. The 32 votes of Massachusetts were cast for Taft for President and for Gov Guild for Vice-President. It was a White House bossed convention from start to finish and the Roosevelt steam roller made short work of all opposition. The cry "Taft or Me" drove the "Allies" into the Taft camp. Senator Lodge was the permanent

chairman of the convention. He was in entire agreement with the National administration and for some time he had been regarded as the spokesman of the "Man on horseback in the White House." The Senator's speech was all that a militant Republican could desire. One of the paragraphs of his address may be quoted as a sample:

"On one side," said he, "recalling the cries which have been sounded from the lips of the two leading political parties during a half century is 'slavery; secession; repudiation of the public debt; government ownership. On the Republican side: Free soil; free men; the Union; the payment of the debt; honest money; protection to American industry; the gold standard; the maintenance of law and order, and the courts and the government regulation of great corporations. The old shiboleth of the Democrats is today the epitaph of policies which are dead and damned. They serve only to remind us of dangers escaped or to warn us of perils to be shunned. The battle cries of the Republicans have been the watch-words of great causes. They tell of victories won and triumphs tasted; they are embodied in the laws and mark the stepping stones by which the Republican has risen into even greater heights of power and prosperity."

The vote for the presidential candidates was as follows: Taft, 702; Knox, 68; Hughes, 67; Cannon, 58; Fairbanks, 40; La Follette, 25; Roosevelt, 3.

Taft's lead was the signal for a great demonstration, and one by one the representatives of the other candidates arose and moved that the nomination be made unanimous. When the Massachusetts delegation arrived with its Guild boom for Vice-President, the members found another Massachusetts man was on the ground with headquarters going full blast and an announcement sent broadcast that he was a candidate for second place on the ticket. John Hays Hammond, the eminent mining engineer and capitalist, who figured so prominently in the Jameson Raid in South Africa and whom President Kruger of the Boer Republic came near hanging, had recently purchased a summer home in Gloucester and declared his intention of becoming a resident of Massachusetts, was the man. He was Taft's friend. Aside from that nobody seemed to know why he should be thought of as a candidate. Mr. Hammond's boom collapsed just before the assembling and he announced his withdrawal from the contest.

On the fourth day of the convention Senator Lodge arose and presented the name of Gov Guild for the nomination of

Vice-President. Chase S. Osborne of Michigan seconded it. On the ballot, which nominated James S. Sherman of New York by a very large majority, Gov Guild received 75 votes. When the result of the ballot was announced, Senator Crane moved on behalf of the Massachusetts delegation that the nomination of Sherman be made unanimous. The friends of the other favorite sons followed suit.

Sherman had the advantage over the other candidates of having been a member of Congress for a number of years. He had a wide acquaintance with the leading politicians of the country and the Republicans felt they needed the Empire State vote for Taft. There was really no heart in the Guild movement. Both Massachusetts Senators knew he hadn't a chance to be nominated but they made the best showing they could. Later they and the administration furnished ample salve for the Governor's wounded feelings in the shape of a special embassy to Mexico on the occasion of the celebration of the Centennial of Mexican independence and later on as ambassador to Russia. When it came to naming the committee to notify the Presidential nominee, Senator Lodge by usage would have headed the committee, it being the custom to make the permanent chairman the spokesman of the committee, but the senior Senator asked to be excused as he had planned a trip to Europe that summer. His suggestion that Gen Warner of Missouri be substituted for him was accepted. Col Bigney was named as the Massachusetts representative on the committee to notify the presidential candidate of his nomination. Col Samuel E. Winslow of Worcester was the Massachusetts member on the committee to notify the Vice-Presidential candidate.

Senator Crane was re-elected on the National Committee. The new chairman of the Republican National Committee who ran the Taft campaign, Frank H. Hitchcock, was credited to Massachusetts. It is true that he had a voting residence in Newton but he had lived in Washington for several years after his graduation from Harvard and was unknown to most Massachusetts people. It is said that the Massachusetts Senators had to be introduced to him when he was chosen chairman. When President Taft made him Postmaster General there was loud protest against charging him to Massachusetts.

In 1904 the Democrats tried a conservative candidate for

President. Judge Alton B. Parker of New York. The conservative element in this State controlled the delegation. The radicals were forced to stand aside, but Judge Parker didn't run as well as Bryan. The conservative Democrats decided to allow the radicals to run the convention of 1908. At least they made little effort to sidetrack Mr. Bryan and his friends. A year before the convention the old Bryan followers were in the field preparing the way for his third nomination for President.

Mr. Bryan came to Massachusetts in March, 1907 and filled many lecture engagements his subject being "The Prince of Peace." Most of his talks were before the Y M C A and he got a chance to impress himself on a lot of Republicans. Many Democrats found their way to these Y M C A meetings. Mr. Bryan, as some one once remarked, always had the crowd except election day. His Sunday meetings in this State looked more like Democratic rallies than Y M C A gatherings, because of the presence of so many Democrats on the stage.

Col Bryan's friends in New England took advantage of his coming and arranged a political tour for him through Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine. At a big meeting in Portland he made a ringing political speech before the Maine Democratic Club in which he said: "We are going to enter a campaign united on the right side. Three years ago we were united on the wrong side." At a banquet of his friends at the Quincy House, Boston, March 15, attended by 300 ardent followers, George Fred Williams nominated him as the party leader for the Presidential campaign of 1908. On the occasion of this visit, Henry M. Whitney, who was a candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination that year conferred with Mr. Bryan, much to the discomfort of the extreme radicals. But Mr. Bryan said after their interview that he was not picking gubernatorial candidates on his trip.

Late in February, 1908, George Fred Williams, as President and Col A. C. Drinkwater as Vice-President of the Massachusetts Bryan League sent out a call for a meeting of the friends of Col Bryan for the purpose of organizing in his behalf, in which they said:

> It is not only futile, but weakening to our party, to discuss now the possibility of nominating a so-called conservative candidate.

This experiment was tried in 1904 with disastrous result. While Mr. Bryan cast in 1896 about 47 per cent and in 1900 about 46 per cent of the total vote for the Presidency Judge Parker cast in 1904 less than 38 per cent of the total vote. Another such experiment would be the height of folly. In 1904, Judge Parker's vote fell more than a million and a quarter votes below the vote of Mr. Bryan in 1900, and he was defeated by 2,500,000 votes, whereas Mr. Bryan in 1900 came within 850,000 of a popular majority.

"The nomination of a conservative for a second time would work disaster to the Democratic party. The Populists are proposing to hold a convention and nominate candidates, and the Independence League is considering a similar policy . If Mr. Bryan should be refused a nomination, it is certain that from one to two million radical voters would desert the Democratic party and leave it in the helpless condition from which Bryan rescued it in 1896, and in which Judge Parker left it in 1904.

"The Republican party has never until now been divided upon fundamental principles. In either possible phase of Republican action, Mr. Bryan is the only logical candidate. If President Roosevelt proves able to dictate the nomination of his party, it will be hopeless to nominate a conservative to oppose him. If a conservative candidate should be nominated by the Republican party, it would be equally unwise to nominate a conservative Democrat to oppose him. Victory lies in an appeal to the aroused public sentiment of the country, and no one can reach this public sentiment as can Mr. Bryan.

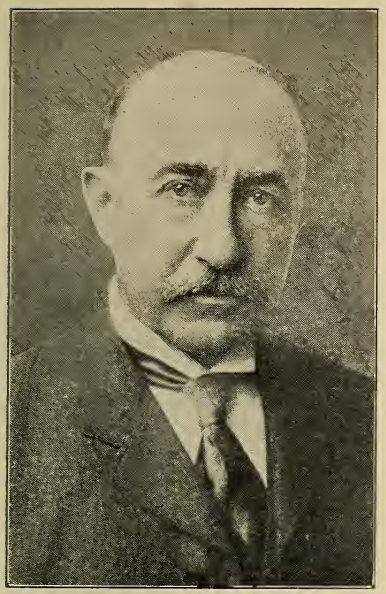
"It is believed that four-fifths of the Democrats of Massachusetts are in favor of Mr. Bryan's nomination, and the only danger in our Commonwealth is that by stealth pretended friends may obtain representation in the delegation from Massachusetts.

"It is to assure Mr. Bryan the loyal and unswerving support of every delegate from Massachusetts that it is now proposed to form this organization."

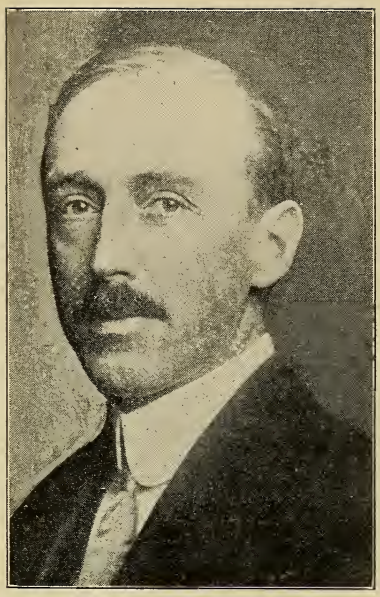
The State Convention met in Boston at Faneuil Hall May 7 for the election of four delegates-at-large and four alternates. The chairman was Frederick J. Stimson of Dedham, now American ambassador to the Argentine, a scholar, a recognized authority on international law and a novelist whose pen name is "J. S. of Dale." It was a Williams-Bryan convention from beginning to end. The Bryan men controlled it by a vote of about 3 to 1.

The riotous scenes of the Springfield convention the Fall before were repeated in the Cradle of Liberty. In a session lasting nearly four hours, during which pandemonium reigned for a considerable part of the time, making deliberation impossible, the Bryan men, who insisted on instructions for the delegates-at-large won over the anti-instructionists supposed to favor Gov Johnson, of Minnesota for the Presidential nomination, on a vote of 408 to 152.

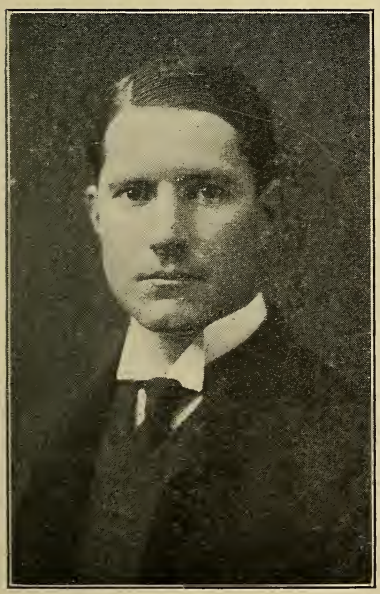
The anti-Williams or anti-Instructionists' ticket was



John Hays Hammond.



Butler Ames.



Louis A. Frothingham.

Robert Luce.

headed by Robert M. Burnett of Southboro. The other candidates were the same as on the Williams ticket—Moran, Coughlin and Doherty. In putting through the Bryan program, Mr. Williams had the powerful influence of Martin M. Lomasney. Not that Mr. Lomasney loved Williams more but he loved those who were fighting the Dedham man less. When the battle of words and epithets raged the fiercest, it was Lomasney who jumped into the thick of the fight and routed the "Corporation Democrats" who, he charged, were trying to create discord in the party. While Williams enjoyed the emoluments of the convention, it was Lomasney and the latter's lieutenants who did the work. Chairman Stimson lost control of the convention early in the proceedings and didn't recover it until he called the police to his aid. Mr. Stimson did not summon police assistance until after he had made repeated attempts to restore order.

The first break occurred when the platform was read. Prof Alexander F. Chamberlain of Clark University, Worcester, who sat with Charles Haggerty of Webster and Eben S. Stevens of Dudley, the latter a brother-in-law of Hon Richard Olney, arose and shouted his disapproval of the Bryan instructions. The chair ruled him out of order. Mr. Chamberlain made for the platform and landed at the foot-lights on the historic stage quicker than it takes to tell it.

He moved that all reference to Bryan in the platform be stricken out. Then the dogs of war were let loose and Prof Chamberlain's voice was drowned for a few moments in the catcalls, hisses, jeers and cries of "Put him out" from the supporters of the Nebraskan. But the Worcester man possessed excellent lung power and demonstrated that he had good staying qualities.

The chair pounded the speaker's desk with his gavel, but he might just as well have used a lead pencil. It could not be heard at the reporters' table. Delegates left their seats, surged around the platform yelling, hooting, whistling and hurling epithets at the Worcester man, but he declared that he would be heard and remarked that the chair was a little inconsistent in picturing Roosevelt a tyrant and denying his right to be heard. Prof Chamberlain characterized Bryan as a dead one and predicted that if the delegation was tied to the Nebraskan it would be as dead politically as the candidate.

The platform began to fill up with excited delegates and

the chair put the resolutions to a vote. There wasn't a voice in opposition. When the motion was made to proceed to a ballot for the choice of delegates there was more disorder which continued for some time. The chair used his gavel with vengeance but he was unable to do anything with the convention owing to the disorder. He finally called for the police to clear the platform. The presence of the police on the platform had a quieting effect on the boisterous delegates and in a short time order enough was restored to get a new start.

The ballot for delegates resulted in the election of the Williams slate as follows:

Delegates-at-Large, George Fred Williams, Dedham, John B. Moran, Boston, Daniel F. Doherty, Westfield, John W. Coughlin, Fall River.

The vote for Delegates-at-Large was: For Williams, Moran, Coughlin, Doherty ticket, instructed for Bryan, 408; For Burnett, Moran, Coughlin and Doherty ticket, backed by anti-Williams men, 152.

The National Democratic convention was held in Denver. On the way to the convention city, the delegates called at Mr. Bryan's home, Fairview, Nebraska, a suburb of Lincoln. On the way out the delegation elected Dr. John W. Coughlin of Fall River National Committeemen. There were things to do at Denver and the Bryan men determined to do them and to put none but Bryan men on guard. Christopher T. Callahan of Holyoke, now a member of the Superior Court, was made chairman of the Committee on Credentials. Williams was made a member of the Committee on Resolutions and Mr. Bryan was nominated without opposition. There was some talk in Denver of trying to nominate either Ex-Gov Douglas or George Fred Williams for Vice-President, but nothing came of it.

Neither presidential candidate came to Massachusetts that year, the Republicans deeming the State solid for Taft and the Democrats regarding it as a waste of time. Mr. Taft's plurality was 108,000. His vote was 264,000, Bryan's 156,000.

The congressional delegation remained the same as the last congress.

CHAPTER XXVI

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1908—REPUBLICAN STATE TICKET DRAPER AND FROTHINGHAM—LATTER WINNING SECOND PLACE AFTER SPIRITED CONTEST—JAMES H. VAHEY DEMOCRATIC GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE.

GOV Guild followed the long established Republican party custom of stepping aside for the Lieutenant Governor towards the close of his third term. Three successive terms for a Chief Executive of the Commonwealth was in those days of political full and plenty, the unwritten party law. Lieutenant Governor Draper was unanimously nominated for Governor at the State Convention held at Symphony Hall, Boston, Oct. 3. Ex-Gov Bates made the nominating speech. Congressman Gardner was the chairman of the convention.

For second place there was a three cornered fight, the candidates being John N. Cole of Andover, Robert Luce of Somerville, and Louis A. Frothingham of Boston. All three had been prominent and forceful figures in the Legislature. Frothingham and Cole had been Speakers. Luce was the author of election and caucus laws some of which helped the Democrats more than the Republicans. The Lieutenant Governorship contest waxed warm all summer. Each candidate maintained headquarters and followed one another about at clambakes, outings, picnics and cattle fairs, shaking hands with the voters and making speeches.

Albert E. Winship of Somerville, who was to have presented the name of Mr. Luce to the convention was taken ill at the last moment and Mr. Luce decided to present his case to the delegates in person. He took the platform and put forth his claims to the nomination modestly and eloquently.

The nominating speech for Cole was made by Charles W. Bosworth of Springfield. U S Dist Atty Asa P. French nominated Frothingham. The ballot for second place resulted as follows: Whole number of votes, 1538; necessary for a choice, 770; L. A. Frothingham, 754; John N. Cole, 453; Robert Luce, 331; And there was no choice.

As soon as the vote was announced Mr. Cole took the platform and moved the nomination of Frothingham be made unanimous. Mr. Luce of Somerville seconded the motion of Cole and it was carried amid great cheering.

In his speech, the presiding officer, Congressman Gardner, advised the laboring man to take heed "before you trust the cause of labor to a set of men whose conception of the relation of capital to labor used to be to own it." The Essex Congressman was not afraid of the tariff. His party was going to fix it. The tariff, he said, he found analogous to a ship that had performed good service but needed some tinkering.

"History's fairest page" would be that which told the story of the "renunciation of the sceptre by Theodore Roosevelt" declared Mr. Gardner. He eulogized Roosevelt, and saw in him the Launcelot who sought the Holy Grail, but could not complete his quest, and bequeathed his sword to Sir Galahad. The Congressman's rhetorical figure was appreciated, and the delegates jumped to their feet and cheered.

Chairman Gardner entered into a spirited defense of Lieut Gov Draper, who, he said, had been the victim of more malevolent misrepresentation and vituperation than any other man within his recollection. He had been maligned as an employer of labor. But the people of Hopedale knew whether he was an oppressor or not. They had a chance to register their opinion of their employer at the polls, and only 17 were against him. This, Mr. Gardner thought, was an emphatic denial of the charges against him as an employer.

The Massachusetts platform was in entire agreement with the National platform adopted at Chicago in June and also recorded the convention as approving, and appreciating the administration of Guild and Draper. The party's tariff and currency policy was commended, the main planks being as follows:

"We record our appreciation of the excellent administration of Gov Curtis Guild Jr. Intensely patirotic, conscienciously diligent, he has earnestly sought to maintain our best ideals.

"We also record our approval of the business sagacity, absolute frankness and fearless zeal in public affairs shown by His Honor Eben S. Draper, while acting Governor, which we accept as a earnest of what is to come the ensuing year.

"Our economic well being depends upon the wisdom of our tariff policy and the soundness of our currency and banking system, all of which demand and will receive special consideration at the

next session of congress. A mistaken course in their treatment will be disastrous."

Congressman John W. Weeks, Charles B. Barnes Jr of Hingham and Samuel E. Winslow of Worcester were instructed to bring the nominee to the hall. Mr. Draper made a brief speech accepting the nomination. He said:

"This is the fourth time I have been nominated by the representatives of the Republican party in convention assembled, to a high State office. For three years I have been nominated by you and elected by the people as Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts. I now have the great honor of being named by you as a candidate of the Republican party for the office of Governor, the highest position within the gift of the people of the Commonwealth.

"I assure you I appreciate it most deeply, and can only say if the people ratify your nomination in November, I shall fill the office of Governor to the best of my ability."

The only business remaining for the convention to transact was the nomination of 16 Presidential electors.

Having received positive information that Dist Atty John B. Moran's health would not permit him to enter the gubernatorial race in 1908, Senator James H. Vahey of Watertown announced in May his willingness to become the Democratic standard bearer in the Fall.

In his statement Senator Vahey said:

"The Democratic party in Massachusetts for the last few years has unfortunately been hampered by dissensions, antagonisms and differences. The Republican party has been fortunate in having an extremely popular Chief Executive. It has been more fortunate in demonstrating to the people of the Commonwealth that it could conceal differences of opinion, and this sometimes even to the extent of sacrificing self-respect.

"The time has now arrived when the Democrats of Massachusetts with that large body of independent voters and Republicans who are for the people's interest, as against selfish control, can unite for the purpose of defeating as a candidate for Governor a man who represents more than any other public official or man prominent in public life in the Commonwealth the power of money to secure political advancement. If the citizens of the Commonwealth who are opposed to such a candidate and to the views he represents in public life desire me to be their candidate for Governor of the Commonwealth I am willing to make the contest.

"I desire as a matter of fairness and justice to say to the people of the Commonwealth that they owe a great debt of gratitude to the Democrats, Republicans and Independents who so earnestly and courageously have fought their battles at the State House, and whose loyal, generous and active support it has been my honor and privilege to receive. If it were not for them I should not even be willing to be a receptive candidate."

It seemed like a hopeless and thankless task for any

Democrat to try to get the warring factions of that party together, but by hard work, tack and diplomacy, Mr. Vahey succeeded remarkably well.

With the aid of a few loyal friends he stumped the State and made a good impression on the Democratic voters. The Democratic State convention was held at Faneuil Hall, Boston, Oct. 1st. Congressman Andrew J. Peters of Boston was the permanent chairman. David I. Walsh of Fitchburg was temporary chairman. Both made speeches scoring the Republicans for their failure to entrust the people with their own government.

Under the heading "Hypocrisy of Republican Senators" the platform adopted declared:

"We believe in an eight-hour day. We believe that women and children should not be compelled to work more than 54 hours a week. We denounce the action of the Republican Legislature which defeated the bills regulating the hours of labor for women and chil-drn, and for peaceful persuasion in industrial disputes. We point to the hypocrisy of Republican senators who reported favorably upon the latter measure, and then voted against their own report."

Other planks in the platform were:

"We denounce the extravagance in State administration which has increased the burdens of taxation for every municipality in the State. The increase in the State tax has been radically disproportionate to the necessities of prudence and economy. This lavish and injudicious expenditure is directly traceable to government by commission. Commissions have been created which take from the people the right to rule, and are constantly increasing the burdens of taxation.

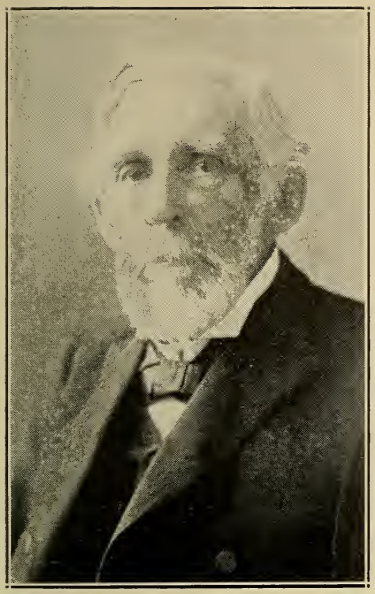
"We are in favor of preserving the rights of local self-government.

"We denounce the pernicious and corrupt influence of the lobby. It dictates nominations, controls elections and dominates legislation.

"We favor the referendum. We denounce the failure of the Republican Legislature to submit to the people important questions of public policy."

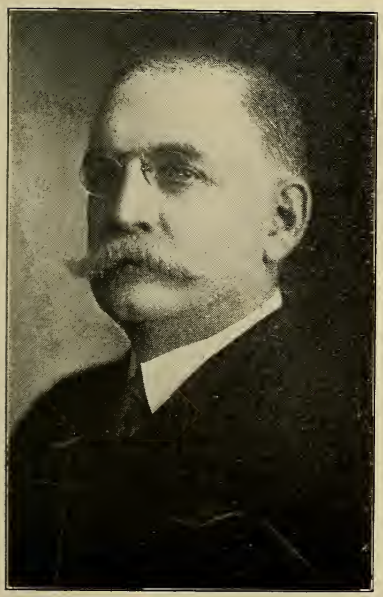
Vahey had no opposition for the nomination for Governor. The speech putting him in nomination was made by Jesse C. Ivy of Newton. Charles J. Barton of Melrose, an old time Democrat was named as Vahey's running mate. A new set of State Committeemen-at-Large were chosen and a set of Presidential electors was nominated.

Hearst's Independence League nominated William N. Osgood of Lowell. Mr. Osgood, some years before, was prominent in the Democratic party. The Prohibitionists nominated Willard O. Wylie of Beverly as their candidate for Governor. James F. Carey of Haverhill again ran on the

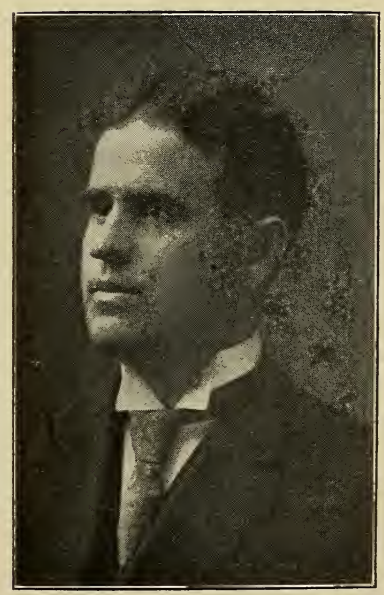


George S. Boutwell.

John A. Sullivan.



J. Mitchel Galvin.



Joseph F. O'Connell.

Socialist candidate and Walter J. Hoar of Worcester as the Socialist-Labor candidate.

The campaign was not exciting. The Republicans figured that the Democrats couldn't possibly win and counted on the "reserve vote" to come out in the Presidential year and they did not think it necessary to conduct a very vigorous or active campaign.

Draper's plurality election day was 60,000. Bryan carried Boston by a scant 200, Vahey's plurality in Boston was 11,679. Vahey ran 13,000 votes ahead of Bryan in the State The vote was:

For Governor: Eben S. Draper of Hopedale (R) 228,318; James H. Vahey of Watertown (D), 168,162; William N. Osgood of Lowell (IL), 23,101; James F. Carey of Haverhill (S), 14,430; Willard O. Wylie of Beverly (P) 5,966; Walter J. Hoar of Worcester (SL), 2,567; all others, 56.

For Lieutenant Governor: Louis A. Frothingham of Boston (R), 240,350; Charles J. Barton of Melrose (D), 144,049; Robert J. McCartney of Kingston (IL), 19,904; John Hall Jr of West Springfield (S), 11,619; Frank H. Rand of Haverhill (P), 5,760; Joao Claudino of New Bedford (SL), 17.

Frothingham led Draper by 12,038. His plurality over Barton his Democratic opponent was 96,307.

Both the Independence League and Socialist party secured more than the necessary 3 per cent to retain their entity as political parties.

The Congressional pluralities in the various districts were officialy declared as follows:

First, Lawrence (R), 7,225; Second, Gillett (R), 9,676; Third, Washburn (R), 8,611; Fourth, Tirrell (R), 3,411; Fifth, Ames (R), 4,341; Sixth, Gardner (R), 14,759; Seventh, Roberts (R), 14,221; Eighth, McCall (R), 9,509; Ninth, Keliher (D), 8,058; Tenth, O'Connell (D), 4; Eleventh, Peters (D), 434; Twelfth, Weeks (R), 12,028; Thirteenth, Greene (R), 11,893; Fourteenth, Lovering (R), 14,250.

In the case of Congressman O'Connell his Republican opponent, J. Mitchel Galvin, contested his seat unsuccessfully. Congressman Peters, Democrat, had a close shave, getting by with a plurality of 494. His Republican opponent, Senator Daniel W. Lane received substantial support in the Democratic wards because of his personal popularity among the Democratic voters.

CHAPTER XXVII

DRAPER AND FROTHINGHAM'S FIRST TERM—VETO OF THE EIGHT HOUR BILL AND PASSAGE OF R R HOLDING LAW—DEATH OF JOHN B. MORAN.

THE State was to enjoy the benefit of another business man at the helm in Eben S. Draper. Men with convictions in public life, usually displease many. There was nothing mealy mouthed about Eben S. Draper. He had the courage of his convictions and published them. He had no use for frauds or shams and he did not hesitate to denounce them. Organized labor was his unrelenting opponent. The labor union leaders had denounced him ever since he entered public life. He had a fine crop of enemies in his own political party and he always had to spend money freely for anything he got in politics.

Personally, Gov Draper was a likeable man. For many years he had taken a prominent and active part in politics. He denounced the Canadian reciprocity movement as a delusion and a snare and declined to cater to those who headed the agitation. He was rich and his wealth had been made possible by the protecting arm and fostering care the Republican party had bestowed on the industry in which he was one of the partners. His concern manufactured cotton mill machinery. His business was with the mills of the country. When they were prosperous the Draper Co made money. Gov Draper inherited his politics from his father and he would have found it difficult to be anything else but a Republican. Without a protective tariff the Drapers couldn't compete with foreign machinery manufacturers and the mills where his looms were used were in the same boat with him.

His election as Governor was a matter of great personal satisfaction to him. It was his one consuming ambition. His three terms as Lieutenant Governor, several months of which were spent as Acting Governor during the severe illness of Gov Guild, gave him a good insight into the State's business

and when he assumed the reins of government Jan. 7, 1909, he was well equipped for the position.

His first inaugural address was a business document. Naturally, his first concern was the finances of the State and these he treated with a refreshing frankness. Like his predecessor he urged economy on the part of the Legislature and a consideration of the fact that the burden of taxes falls on the people. It is an old trick of legislators to provide snug berths for some of their number in the shape of recess appointments. In the opinion of Gov Draper recess committees were unnecessary and expensive and he said on this subject:

"We are one of a very few States in the Union who have annual elections and sessions of the Legislature, and the Legislature is in session for substantially six months out of every twelve.

"Under these conditions, necessary changes in our laws may be considered and acted on without the appointment of recess committees, which are of necessity expensive, and, as we have annual elections and annual sessions of the Legislature, are unnecessary."

On the subject of "Industrial Education"—something he was familiar with by reason of his manufacturing interests—he said:

"I believe that separate industrial schools should be established which should not take in scholars, boys or girls, at less than fourteen years of age. I am not prepared to state whether or not there should be an age limit in the other direction; but such schools should be so organized that if boys or girls desire to attend them at that age, they could take a practical course which might last for two or more years, so that when they left they would be prepared to enter, with some substantial training, into the individual work of life.

"Boys and girls from fourteen to seventeen or eighteen years of age are not at the present time furnished by public schools with adequate training in the direction of a life work, if it is to be connected with a trade. The pupils who go to high schools are obliged to take much more of an academic training than they would be, provided there were suitable industrial schools for them to attend during these years.

"In every section of the Commonwealth one may see boys and girls between fourteen and seventeen, who are too young to work, on the streets doing nothing, or getting an education for which many of them are not adapted and do not wish; and I believe that giving them an opportunity for industrial education, one part of which should be learning how to work and actually working a certain number of hours each day, would be of great benefit to them.

"I further think that, at the present time, our educational system is not being conducted harmoniously to produce the best results."

To Gov Draper is due the credit for suggesting and insisting on the passage of laws for the better regulation of

the running of automobiles. Discussing motor regulation he said:

"I have already referred to changes that I think it would be wise to make in legislation having to do with increased receipts from the use of certain classes of machines.

"I further believe that our laws should be so amended as better to regulate the conditions under which they are run. The object to be attained by such legislation, in my view, is to prevent reckless operation of such machines on the public highways. Speed limits may have their advantages, but they often times work a hardship on careful operators.

"The laws should be so framed that any reckless operation of a motor vehicle, at any speed, should be the test for fine or other punishment, as the case may be. The object to be attained is to frame laws which will prevent reckless and dangerous operation of such vehicles. Where any particular person is convicted, the penalty should be severe; and if glaring cases of recklessness are found, the guilty operator should be prohibted from further opportunity for such action.

"I would further suggest that some law might be passed which would make it a criminal offense to use an automobile without the owner's permission."

Gov Draper paid considerable attention to the State boards, and commissions, saying:

"The organization is an economical one, and the results attained, on the whole, are excellent. I do not mean that in detail or results they cannot be criticised, but the system of unpaid boards of public spirited men and women, with good salaried executive officers hired by them and under their control, has done good work for the Commonwealth, and has done it economically."

He recommended that the four following boards—Registration in Dentistry, Registration in Pharmacy, Registration in Veterinary Medicine and Registration in Medicine be consolidated on the ground that four separate organizations for this work seemed unnecessary. He asked the Legislature to keep down the number of new laws.

Joseph Walker of Brookline was chosen Speaker of the House and Allen T. Treadway of Stockbridge President of the Senate.

The Legislature of 1909 passed 539 acts and 143 resolves. Four acts became law without the Governor's signature and six were vetoed and sustained. The session occupied 165 days and the Legislature was prorogued June 19, at 6.50 P. M. The Legislature recorded its deep regret for the calamity which befell the Kingdom of Italy that year in the shape of

volcanic eruptions and extended its heartfelt sympathy to its people in their affliction. Both branches adopted resolutions against the imposition of an income tax of the Federal government of a tax on inheritances on the ground that such tax should be collected by the State.

The use of voting machines was favored by a constitutional amendment and another relative to the power of the General Court in levying taxes. One of the important vetoes of Gov Draper was the Eight-Hour bill for public employes which was quite an important issue in the campaign of 1908. The Governor complained that section 5 of the bill was unjust.

"This provision seems to me to be absolutely unjust and improper, if not entirely unconstitutional," said he. "This would make the defendant in a cause under this act adjudged prima facie guilty before trial, and he would be obliged to prove his innocence rather than compel the complainant to prove him guilty.

"This to my mind is an unwarrantable change in the common law which would be absolutely unjust to part of our citizens, and could only be defended on the ground that laboring men working for the State or on public works must be protected by law in an entirely different way than other laboring men who happened to be employed on other classes of work. This would to my mind be an unwarranted reflection on their independence and standing, and would also be class legislation of the worst kind.

"There is one other defect in this bill which I am informed and believe would make it absolutely unconstitutional. It has no saving clause concerning contracts entered into prior to the passage of the act. It is unjust in this respect and unconstitutional."

The veto was upheld after a bitter contest.

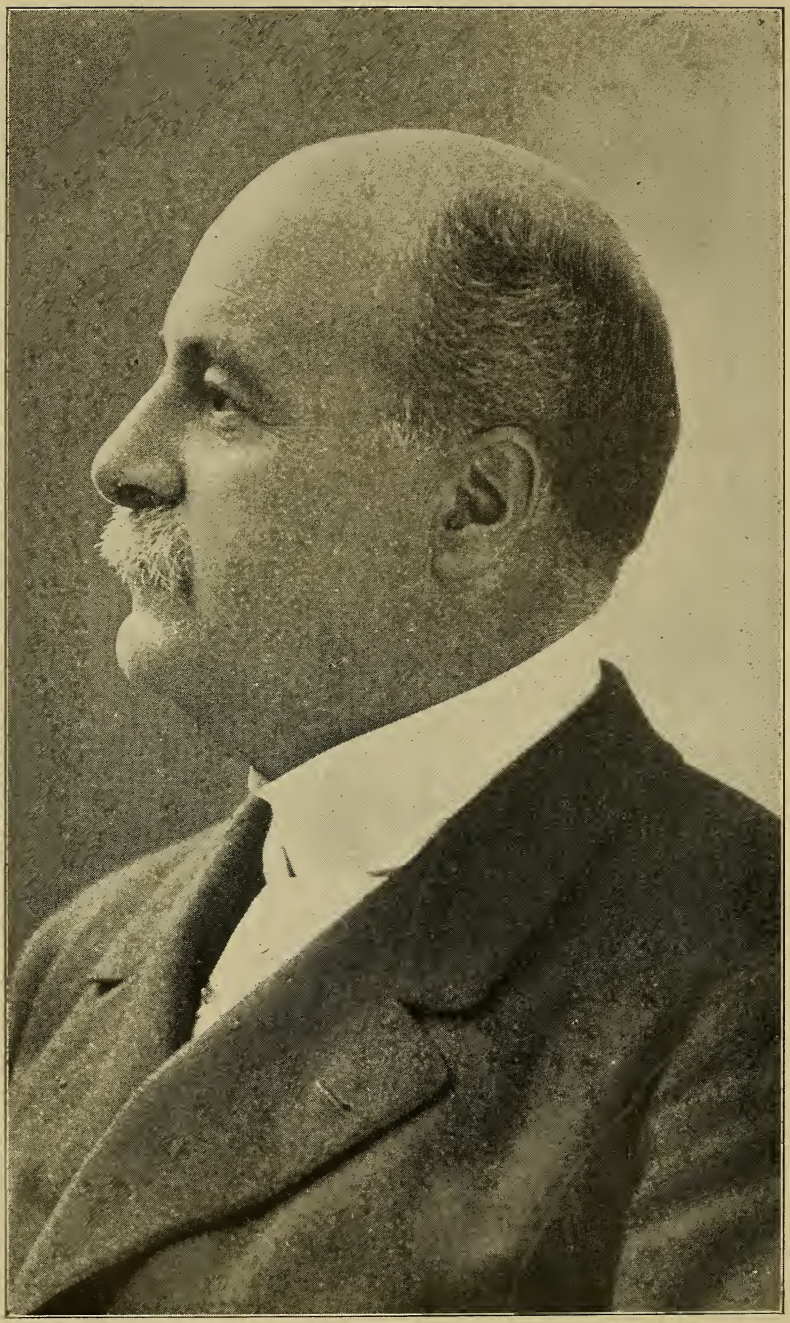
Claiming that it would cure the various ills of the New Haven and the Boston & Maine R. R., Gov Draper sent a special message to the Legislature advocating the creation of a Holding Company to secure the stock of the Boston & Maine railroad, under certain limitations, and thus keep it within the Commonwealth, and at the safe time prevent it becoming the property of a hostile railroad organization, which might use it to the injury of New England interests. The bill finally became a law only to plague future Legislatures and Governors and proved inadequate for the purpose for which it was created.

The Legislature of 1909, which was overwhelmingly Republican measured up to the standard of similar bodies in the past. It enacted some wise measures and defeated several

bad ones. While many of the bills that came before the Legislature were not partisan in character, some very important ones were dealt with on substantially party lines. Among the most important acts was the Boston Charter bill. This bill was opposed by substantially a unanimous vote of the Democratic party. The Republicans accepted the responsibility for that measure. It was designed to clip the wings of the then Democratic Mayor of Boston. Among some of the important measures of a non-partisan character were the bills consolidating the board of education and the industrial commission into a new board of education.

The bill regulating the use of automobiles and laying a graded tax so that the Commonwealth would collect something like $200,000 a year more from the owners of these machines than before, which money was used for the repair of State roads, was passed by this Legislature.

John B. Moran died at Phoenix, Arizona, Feb. 7, 1909. He had sought to regain his health in the West, but the dreaded disease from which he suffered silently and uncomplaining for several years, had too firm a grip on his constitution to be shaken off and the end came far from his home, surrounded by strangers and away from relatives and friends —a sad ending of a busy life.



Governor Draper.

CHAPTER XXVIII

DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS NOMINATE GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATES OF YEAR BEFORE—FOSS JOINS DEMOCRATS AND THEY NOMINATE HIM FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR—REPUBLICAN TICKET RE-ELECTED BY GREATLY REDUCED PLURALITY.

VAHEY'S candidacy of 1908 demonstrated that when a real Democrat ran he could get the party vote. He succeeded in welding the warring factions together and at the outset made it plain that his only motive was to offer every Democrat an opportunity to return to the fold. His vote of 168,000, one year after the "Pink Ticket" convention, was a remarkably good showing and caused thoughtful Republicans to regard him more than a mouthing politician. It also proved that the Democracy had more lives than the proverbial cat and must be reckoned with even though its recent behavior had been far from ideal. Perhaps one ought not to expect good manners at a political convention. Most Democrats take the ground that a thing worth having is worth fighting for. Being usually a minority party in the State Democrats usually have a freer rein in public discussions of party affairs and public policies and there is less of the cut and dried program in their political conventions. As a rule, when Democrats differ they fight it out in the open, and dine in private. Republicans generally do their fighting behind closed doors and their feasting in public.

A new figure on the Democratic political horizon loomed up quite unexpectedly in the summer of 1909. The Democratic managers felt that if they could draft or drag a man with money into the campaign they could fight the people's battles with more heart and courage. For some time the chairman of the State Committee and the candidate for Governor had been flirting with such a man and a few days before the State convention, held at Faneuil Hall, Boston, September 30, it was announced that Eugene N. Foss, who had been foremost in the Reciprocity movement and a life long Republican, had

consented to accept the Democratic nomination for Lieutenant Governor.

Leading Republicans heaved a sigh of relief and most of those prominent in Republican party affairs joined in exclaiming: "Good riddance to bad rubbish." Mr. Foss with his Canadian reciprocity and tariff ideas had been a thorn in the side of the Republicans. The Democratic managers had some difficulty convincing some of their friends that the nomination of Foss was the right thing to do. The Foss boomers pictured thousands of reciprocity and tariff revision Republicans following him into the Democratic party election day. Better still, he would finance the campaign. Mr. Foss had the reputation of being a liberal spender in political campaigns. He had not, however, proved that he was much of a vote getter. He had been the Republican Congressional candidate in the 11th district, but was defeated by John A. Sullivan. The Democratic leaders succeeded in nominating Mr. Foss for second place without much opposition.

Representative Thomas P. Riley of Malden was the temporary chairman of the State convention and Charles S. Hamlin the permanent chairman. Mr. Riley was the Democratic floor leader in the Legislature this year and in his convention speech he reviewed the work of that body, condemning the Republicans for their subserviency to the railroads and the corporations and the Governor's veto of the Eight Hour bill.

The tariff and the income tax were the burden of Mr. Hamlin's speech. Discussing the tariff he said:

"Year after year, our Republican friends, especially in this State, have promised tariff revisions, but year after year the happy event was postponed. At last this promised revision has come and the Republican party has made a record which it now submits to the people for their approval or disapproval.

"Early in the proceedings, before Congress, when it became evident that the protected manufacturers would insist upon holding what they had already secured in the Dingley tariff and even were demanding still higher duties several prominent Republicans denied that the Republican party had ever promised to reduce the tariff. They claim that revision did not mean reduction.

"However interesting these views may have been, they have all been swept away by the frank, manly declaration of President Taft that the Republican party was bound substantially to reduce existing customs taxation. We therefore can start out on the promise that the party was pledged to reduce the tariff and the only question is to compare the promise with the actual result.

"The people of Massachusetts will take up the gage of battle

thrown down by the Governor and by the National administration and we will enter upon the fight with perfect confidence that the indignation now felt by a large majority of our people will express itself at the polls at the coming election.

"The fight upon which we are entering is not alone a Democratic fight for in the cause of tariff revision we represent the cause of all of the consumers of this State. All those who desire relief from present unjust burdens of taxation must cast their vote for the candidate soon to be nominated by our party and if he is faithfully supported he will carry our standard to victory."

Of the 16 planks in the platform not one was new. The two concluding paragraphs of the document read:

"The Democratic party is unalterably opposed to special privileges. It harbors no hostility to wealth, but demands equal opportunities to all; for the manufacturer, the merchant, the farmer and the consumer, freedom from unjust discrimination and the oppression of monopolies; for the working man, wages, conditions and hours of labor, and prices for the necessities of life consistent with the development of faculties, the preservation of health, the maintenance and education of children, and the attainment of American ideals in citizenship.

"The Republican organization has placed itself in open antagonism to the most progressive elements of its own party. The Democratic party thus becomes, by force of circumstances, the only means of expression of popular reform and of the enlightened sentiment of the people. Where there is identity of purpose there should be community of action; and all good citizens should regard it as their patriotic duty to subordinate party regularity to the public good."

There was another important matter which had to be straightened out before the nomination for Governor was made. A few days before the convention Ex-Mayor John T. Coughlin of Fall River announced that he was a candidate for the gubernatorial nomination. Mr. Coughlin came to Boston, opened headquarters and kept up the fight and insisted on a show down of strength before he quit the contest. The vote was 384 for Vahey, 198 for Coughlin. Vahey had to fight for the nomination. His vote was almost twice as large as his opponent's, and yet the Fall River candidate got a much larger vote than the Vahey people credited him with before the balloting.

It was probably the first time in a Democratic convention in this State that aspirants for the gubernatorial nomination appeared before a convention and personally presented their claims. The idea originated with the Coughlin men. In compliance with the vote of the convention both candidates were escorted to the platform. As the candidates walked down the main aisle of the hall, arm in arm, a tremendous

cheer went up. Both addressed the convention, Coughlin being the first to speak.

He told of what he had done for labor and declared that if he were nominated 20,000 Independent Republicans would vote for him. He said that he would preach the doctrine of Democracy from the Berkshires to the Cape. He promised loyalty to his opponent if the latter was the nominee of the convention.

It was then Vahey's turn. Chairman Hamlin gave him a certificate of good character in introducing him. Vahey approached the subject with the statement that he had something on his opponent, pointing out that Coughlin was still in the bachelor class, while he was the father of six children, which was, in his opinion, good reason why he and not Coughlin should receive the nomination for Governor, as the Democratic party was opposed to race suicide.

He expressed the hope that he would live long enough to present the name of Charles S. Hamlin as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor at a Democratic Convention. Many of the delegates shouted, "Do it now!" The suggestion raised a great laugh and was greeted with loud applause. Vahey was playing with fire. For a few minutes it looked as if Vahey had started a stampede for Hamlin. Some of the Coughlin men who realized that their candidate couldn't win, urged the Fall River man to arise and nominate Hamlin but he declined, saying that it would be hitting Vahey below the belt and that he believed in fair fighting. Vahey soon extricated himself from his perilous position, and it was evident at the close of his speech that his friends controlled the convention. Alfred S. Hayes made the nomination speech for Vahey and Charles P. Ryan of Fall River nominated Coughlin. On the announcement of the result of the ballot, Coughlin arose and made Vahey's nomination unanimous.

Foss' nomination slipped by on the greasy ways of the convention as quick as one could say Jack Robinson. There was no nominating speech for Foss. As chairman of the committee on the balance of the State ticket, John F. McDonald of Boston, for many years a Jamaica Plain neighbor of Mr. Foss, reported the nomination for Lieutenant Governor. Mr. McDonald talked fast and Chairman Hamlin put the necessary motions in rapid succession in carrying out the leaders' program.

The Republicans held their State convention at Symphony Hall, Boston, October 2. Few saw the handwriting on the wall, but it was destined to be the last Republican State Convention for six years to nominate a successful gubernatorial candidate. The old ticket Draper and Frothingham was renominated without a hitch.

Ex-Mayor Curtis of Boston, the permanent chairman of the convention, began his speech with an argument for the justification of the party organization and partisan government and against direct nominations. His appeal to Republicans in the Legislature not to forget who sent them there and not to cater to the Democrats by voting for the latter's measures was applauded.

Mr. Curtis was a "Plan One" advocate in the new Boston charter amendments and his remarks concerning party organization and government were regarded by many as an answer to the arguments of those who were backing Plan Two. He complimented Dist Atty Arthur D. Hill for the manner in which he had discharged the duties of his office to which position he had been named by Gov Draper on the death of John B. Moran.

Gov Draper's administration and that of President Taft were praised by Mr. Curtis. He dwelt especially on the Governor's attitude on the Boston Charter bill, proving, he claimed, that the Governor and the Republican party had been actuated solely with a desire to give the New England metropolis a better government. He hoped that further unnecessary restrictions would not be imposed on Boston by the State, and warned the legislators that the limit had been reached in reform affecting the industries of the Commonwealth.

Ex-Gov Bates, always a useful and ornamental man about a Republican State convention read the platform which praised everything Republican and condemned everything Democratic, declaring:

"In considering the question of State expenditure, the State tax must be taken as the true measure from which to form an opinion, as that tax represents the excess of appropriations over income or revenue. Since 1893 while the State has grown in population and wealth, it has also assumed many functions and taken up additional burdens. The increase in the State tax in that time has been caused by the greatly increased expenditure for the abolition of grade crossings of railroads; the construction and maintenance of State highways, for the repair of which alone during the present year over $200,000 has been appropriated; the increased number of normal

schools, the entire expense falling upon the Commonwealth instead of half, as formerly; the greatly increased cost of the State Board of Health, involving a great expenditure for the distribution of antitoxin and guarding in various ways the public health; new institutions for those afflicted with tuberculosis, for crippled children, lepers and epileptics; large expenditures for textile schools and for industrial education; an expenditure of nearly $100,000 a year to guard against tuberculosis among cattle; a new department to guard against false weights and measures; the establishment of State reservations; the assumption of the entire care of the insane throughout the State, formerly paid for by the various cities and towns; the purchase of all the armories; the construction of parkways and boulevards, half the cost being borne by the State.

"These are some of the additional expenses which have been assumed whether wisely or not is for our citizens to determine. We believe they have been wise expenditures and ask our critics to cite one of them which they do not consider to have been advantageous to the Commonwealth."

Both Draper and Frothingham appeared and accepted their nominations in brief speeches.

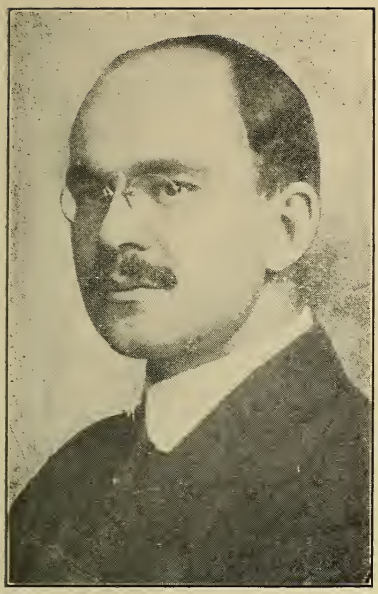
The campaign was waged with old time vigor on both sides and almost every Republican spellbinder took a whack at the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Foss' candidacy attracted more Republican attention than Vahey's. Organized labor was very active against Draper. Its slogan was "Remember the Eight Hour bill." In a speech at Worcester, his opening gun of the campaign, Gov Draper created no little consternation by asserting that one of those who urged him to veto the Eight Hour bill was the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor. When the Democrats denied it the Governor produced the original letter signed by Eugene N. Foss, but labor refused to drop Foss and kept on fighting Draper.

In one of his early speeches in the campaign Mr. Foss said:

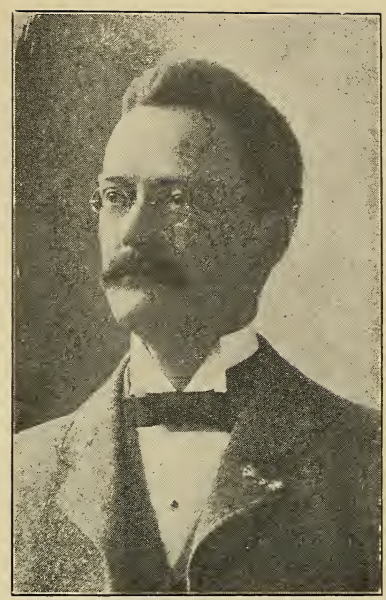
"I am glad to be on the platform of the Democratic party this year, for the platform is a sane one. No apology has to be made for it. Its planks are all sound. It is broad and strong enough to hold the whole Republican party, and they are coming over to it, too.

"Who blames them when you see what a weak structure the Republican machine, under the superintendence of their boss carpenter, Senator Lodge, has constructed? The planks are not only weak, but the whole superstructure is unsafe.

"What I have said might indicate to some that I have left the Republican party bodily and gone over to the Democratic party. But I am not quite yet willing to admit such a statement. In the first place I still insist that in view of the pledges of the Republican party in behalf of reciprocity and tariff reform, and of the manner in which these pledges have been persistently betrayed down to this



John J. Rogers.



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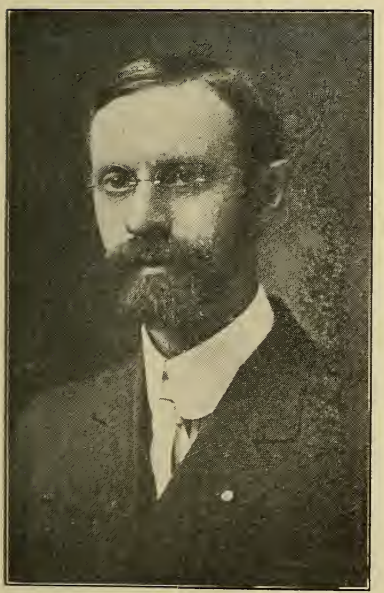


Frederick W. Dallinger

Peter F. Tague.

very movement, that the true situation is not that I and men who think as I do have abandoned our party, but that our party has deserted us.

"Now, in regard to my presence in the Democratic party. What it involves in the future who can tell, and how many care? What difference does it make? One thing sure. It seems to me, and I don't see how anybody of common sense can think otherwise, that the only chance of doing anything to remedy these conditions lies this way.

"In the West, where the greatest leaders of the Republican party have taken instead of a reactionary and absolutely stand-pat course that of consistency and progress, we reform Republicans would have some place in the party. In Massachusetts under the autocratic dominance of Lodge and Draper, 'stand patism' on every living question, not only tariff reform, but income tax and direct nomination, there is no place left for us. And we must go where we can."

Foss in the eyes of many, was the heroic figure of the campaign. Election night the early returns didn't look very good for the Republican ticket. At one time during the evening Vahey and his friends believed that Draper was defeated, but that idea was dispelled an hour or so later when it was found that Draper had a reduced but safe margin over Vahey of about 8000 and Frothingham over Foss about the same. The vote for Governor was:

Draper, Republican, 190,186; Vahey, Democrat, 182,252; White, Socialist, 10,137; Nichols, Prohibitionist, 5,423; Ruther, Socialist Labor, 2,999.

For Lieutenant Governor the vote was: Frothingham, Republican, 188,417; Foss, Democrat, 180,659.

The Legislature elected was safely Republican.

CHAPTER XXIX

SECOND INAUGURAL OF GOV DRAPER AND THE LEGISLATIVE SESSION OF 1910—EIGHT HOUR BILL VETOED—DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE JAMES H. MELLEN, OF WORCESTER —REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE UNDERTAKES TO ADVISE LEGISLATORS AND SPEAKER WALKER REBELS.

THE "renewed expression of confidence" for which Gov Draper thanked the people in opening his second and last inaugural address to the Legislature caused the cynics to smile. A gubernatorial candidate who drops in one year from a plurality of 60,000 to 8,000 must needs be an optimist to see "renewed confidence" in such a dwindling vote. Frothingham's 96,000 plurality of 1908 also shrunk to an insignificant 8000 in 1909. The Republican vote was growing smaller and the Democratic strength was increasing. It needed no prophet to see what was going on in the minds of the voters. In addition to their own burdens the Republicans were carrying the load of the National Administration. Taft's administration at Washington began to grow unpopular the moment he signed the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill.

The Republicans on Beacon Hill began the year 1910 chastened by their reduced vote in November before. They had reason to view with alarm the increasing strength of the Democratic party. The Republicans were on the eve of a political upheaval in State and Nation, which was to dethrone them from power.

State finances were carefully treated by the Governor in his inaugural. He asked the Legislature to practice economy and advised that no large new undertakings be started which were not absolutely necessary. During the past year the Treasurer of the town of Framingham had made away with town funds by pledging the town's credit to banking houses. Gov Draper advocated a reform in the method of issuing municipal loans in order to prevent what had happened in Framingham.

"I suggest," said he, "that some plan be adopted requiring the

registration and certification in the office of the Bureau of Statistics of all town and city loans. This arrangement should be most carefully thought out and made as thorough as possible, and yet the system should not be too expensive. A proper charge for all registration and certification of the loans should be made to the towns and cities having it done."

On the subject of education Gov Draper called attention to the fact that the reorganized Board of Education was appointed on the thirtieth day of June, 1909, to take office on the first day of July and expressed the belief that

"It would be very unwise to establish independent industrial schools in various sections of the Commonwealth, which shall not be a part of our general educational system and which would not be under the direction of the Board of Education. Various steps in this direction have been taken in the past, and others attempted; but it is much wiser to have all the work that shall be performed by the State in this direction done systematically after a careful examination by the Board, and done in harmony with our present school system."

Local inspection of meat in his opinion was not good in the State and he favored the appointment of a number of inspectors to enamine carcasses to see if they are in proper healthful condition to be sold for food. He suggested that the standard of inspection be made the same as that required by the United States government.

"I do not think our conditions in this respect are worse than in many of the other States, but we cannot afford to be below the United States standard, which is the best; and I urge prompt and wise action in dealing with this most important question," said he.

Milk producers came in for consideration in the inaugural. On the milk conditions in the State the Governor had this among other things to say:

"The production of milk and the way it shall be sold is a problem which seems very difficult to solve satisfactorily to both the producers and consumers. There has been much discussion as to whether the standard now required by law, of 12.15 per cent of milk solids and 3.35 per cent of fat, is right. I do not pretend to express an opinion based on knowledge in this respect, but I have not been able to see any way in which the consumer and the honest producer of milk can be properly protected, unless a standard of quality shall be established and maintained by law.

"While I thoroughly believe in a proper standard established and maintained by law, some conditions existent today seem to cause a hardship to the Massachusetts milk producers, because milk from other States can be sold in Massachusetts under many less restrictions than is the case with the product of Massachusetts farmers."

He had many compliments for the militia and the good work it did in the previous summer saying that it seemed to him that

"The pay of all the State troops should be the same, and that any money which would under certain circumstances be paid by the National government to such troops, either for services or subsistence, should be turned into the treasury of the Commonwealth to assist in the general payment of military expenses."

and he suggested that a proper law be passed to bring about this result.

The automobile law which was passed by the last Legislature he said was working well.

"It is expected that it will produce a net revenue of $175,000 during the next year, for use on the State highways; and, with the authority given the Highway Commission to check the reckless driving of these vehicles, it is, in the opinion of the commissioners, the most effective automobile law of any State," said he.

He gave it as his opinion that the Boston Holding Railroad Company would be a great benefit to the railroad situation in Massachusetts and New England.

"I believe the individuals who control the stock of this company intend to very greatly improve the physical condition of the Boston & Maine Railroad. If this is done it will be a great benefit to Massachusetts and New England, and these owners should be encouraged by proper legislation," said the Governor.

"Massachusetts," he added, "cannot expect great improvements in railroad properties unless she is willing to help in proper ways those who are willing to put money into such developments. I understand and believe that important and extensive improvements are very soon to be undertaken on these properties and I think it is in the interests of all our citizens that those making these large expenditures for such improvements should be encouraged to do so. I therefore recommend that these bonds be made a legal investment for Massachusetts savings banks."

No other really important legislation was recommended by the Governor and the Legislature once more settled down for a six months stay on Beacon Hill, beginning the year by re-electing the presiding officer of each branch.

The Republican State Committee undertook to advise with the majority party at this session and began cultivating the friendship of the Republican legislators by giving them a banquet early in the session. Chairman Hatfield of the State Committee who presided appealed to the Republican members of the Legislature to co-operate with the party organiza-

Col. Roosevelt at Harvard, Escorted by Arthur D. Hill, Judge Francis C. Lowell and Acting Dean Edgar H. Wells.

tion to maintain the party in power. Speaker Walker threw the fat into the fire by declaring against dictation. He asked if the leaders of the party were getting out of touch with the rank and file of the party and if the party was losing the confidence of the plain people. He entered his objections to a few party leaders selecting the party candidates for the State ticket and said that the State convention should be a free for all arena. He didn't relish the close relationship existing between certain Republican leaders and certain monopolies. On the tariff he wanted more light. He was not satisfied with the last Republican tariff.

President Treadway of the Senate did not agree with the pessimistic view Speaker Walker took of the outlook and praised the management of State affairs by the party. He pointed out that in passing the resolve to create a commission to investigate the high cost of living the Republicans had not stolen Democratic thunder as had been charged, but that the legislative action was passed on the order of a Republican Senator, Ross, of New Bedford. If he had any criticism to make he said that he would say that too frequently the party welfare had been lost sight of in legislating. Too often also he said he had seen Republican legislators voting with the minority party and furnishing campaign ammunition for the Democrats.

There was a spirited contest over what was known as the "Bar and Bottle Bill"—a measure proposed by the temperance people to separate the liquor business into a strictly bar business and a bottle business. It was argued by the proponents of the measure that it would have a tendency to reduce drinking and drunkenness. The liquor interests fought the measure hard but the temperance people had the votes to pass the measure. The liquor men have made several unsuccessful attempts to repeal the bar and bottle law since.

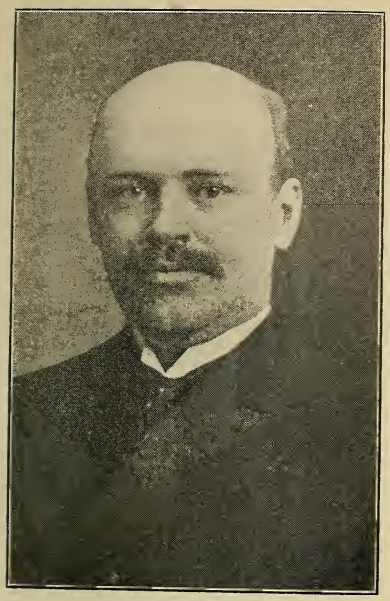
Columbus Day, October 12, was made a legal holiday.

The Governor's suggestion in his inaugural that the bonds of the Railroad Holding Company be made a legal instrument for savings banks stirred up a lot of opposition in and out of the Legislature. Bank men objected and politicians helped them. The idea had to be abandoned so pronounced was the opposition, but they beat the devil around the bush in another way, giving the company permission to issue preferred non-taxable stock.

The Eight Hour bill for Public employees which Gov Draper vetoed the year before was passed again and again vetoed. A bill was passed permitting direct nomination in representative and senatorial districts where the voters desired them. Democrats made a hard fight for a resolve declaring in favor of the direct election of U S Senators, got it through the House on a close vote but the Senate rejected it. A saner Fourth of July bill was passed and signed by the Governor. One piece of legislation important to labor men was the law compelling advertisers for help in case of a strike to state in their "ads" that a strike is on.

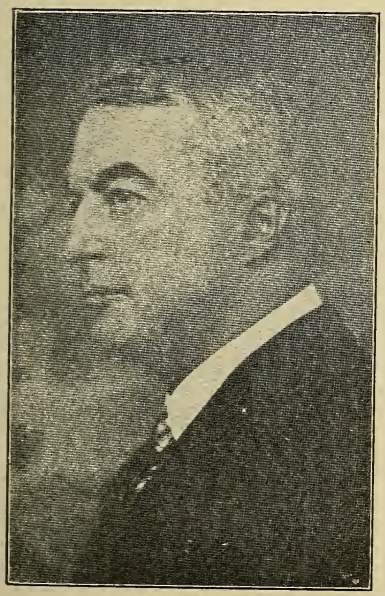
Prorogation took place on the evening of June 16, the last act being the passage of the State tax bill amounting to $5,500,000, the biggest State tax bill up to that time.

January 28, 1910, Gen William F. Draper, of Hopedale, who had been the American Ambassador to Italy under President McKinley died at his Washington home at the age of 68. He was the Governor's eldest brother but of late they had become estranged because of business differences. Gen Draper had a fine war record. He always manifested a lively interest in State and National politics. He had represented his district in Congress and was at the head of the Draper Company of Hopedale, manufacturers of cotton machinery. His widow erected an imposing monument to his memory in Hopedale. He was a staunch and uncompromising Republican, warm hearted, frank and democratic in manner, positive in character and a man of strong likes and dislikes. His friends and foes always knew where he stood in a political fight.

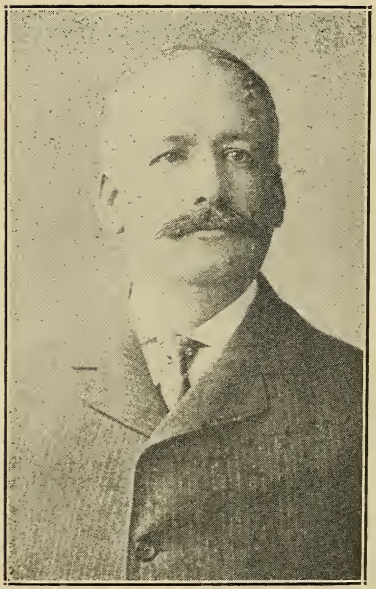


John N. Cole.

Frank H. Hitchcock.



Augustus P. Gardner.



Charles G. Washburn.

CHAPTER XXX

BY ELECTION IN THE FOURTEENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT FOSS DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE DEFEATS BUCHANAN, REPUBLICAN NOMINEE—CONTEST ATTRACTED NATION WIDE ATTENTION.

CONGRESSMAN William C. Lovering of Taunton, representing the 14th district, who had been elected to the 55th Congress and re-elected to each succeeding Congress, died in Washington, February 4th, 1910. Governor Draper issued a rescript for a special election in the district to fill the vacancy. The Democrats tried to induce Charles S. Hamlin to accept their nomination. Mr. Hamlin procrastinated and finally declined to make the run. The nomination was offered to Eugene N. Foss who had only a few weeks before changed his political coat and he accepted it.

On the Republican side three men wanted the nomination—Judge Robert O. Harris of Bridgewater, Dr. Frank G. Wheatley of Abington and William R. Buchanan of Brockton. In the caucuses Buchanan got the largest number of delegates and when the convention was held at Brockton, March 5, Buchanan was nominated, the vote being: Buchanan, 74; Harris, 38; Wheatley, 17; Curtis, 8.

The convention was controlled by Buchanan's Brockton friends and Brockton politicians ran it from beginning to end. Buchanan's friends announced that his two opponents for the nomination had warmly "congratulated" him. The Republican State organization came forward to make sure that the party nominee was successful. Buchanan had been Gov Douglas' secretary. He was not popular with those who had occasion to frequent the executive offices at the State House. He knew practically none of the Democrats of the State, and he never made a serious effort to increase his circle of friends in that party. His acquaintance with Republicans was also limited. The Democrats didn't take any more kindly to him than he did to them while he was secretary to Gov Douglas. When he was nominated for Congress, a lot of Republicans were suspicious of his loyalty to their party.

"How could a loyal Republican serve a Democratic Governor?" was frequently asked. Buchanan's nomination was not popular with Republicans.

The day after Buchanan's nomination Foss made public his letter accepting the Democratic nomination. Mr. Foss didn't live in the district. He was a resident and voter in the 11th district. He had run twice in the latter district as the Republican Congressional nominee and was defeated at the polls by John A. Sullivan, the Democratic candidate. In his letter of acceptance Foss said he wanted it understood that if elected he would serve only for the unexpired term of the late congressman. He declared that had Judge Harris secured the Republican nomination, he would not have accepted the Democratic nomination. On the contrary, he said, he would have done everything he could to aid Judge Harris' election. He also said he believed that Judge Harris' utterances on public questions showed him to be a Progressive Republican.

Foss declared against Cannonism and Aldrichism, said that he stood with President Taft for an income tax and that he agreed with Roosevelt on the latter's conservation policy. Here was a Democratic candidate asserting that had a certain man been nominated by the Republicans he would have done all in his power to elect him and standing with the Republican President. There have been times in Massachusetts when it would have been difficult for a candidate for public office to get away with that sort of a declaration, but in 1910, in the 14th district, the only thing the voters seemed to care about was to make sure that the Republican congressional candidate was defeated. The high cost of living was the issue put forward by Foss. He declared that it was not a local but a National contest he was engaged in. If elected, he promised that he would go to Washington without a party collar and represent all the people of the district regardless of party.

Leading Democrats bestirred themselves for Foss and Senator Lodge came on from Washington to speak for Buchanan. At a rally at Middleboro Foss said that if elected he would join with the Progressive Republican "Insurgents" of the House. In all his speeches he played up Canadian reciprocity and termed Buchanan a "Standpat" Republican.

Buchanan toured the district and several leading Repub-

licans spoke for him. When the contest was at its height, Judge Harris allowed himself to be interviewed, declared that he had not taken any part in the campaign, and that Buchanan's friends had given it out that he had attended meetings when he had not. Asked who he would vote for, he replied that he didn't know who was the best Republican running. Judge Harris' refusal to say that he would support Buchanan hurt the latter's chances and Foss' friends made the most of Harris' hostile attitude towards Buchanan.

The Republicans did everything they could to stir up interest in behalf of Buchanan but without success. Mr. Lodge made a speech in Brockton. With cold sarcasm, of which the Senator is a master, he thus referred to Foss:

"Mr. Buchanan's opponent has been a frequent candidate. He seems to be ready to run in any district, on any ticket and under any party designation. He sought many nominations at the hands of the Republican party and when he ceased to secure them, about six months ago, he joined the Democratic party, but not before they were ready to nominate him to office.

"It does not seem to me that he improves the Democratic ticket particularly and I am certain that the Democratic ticket has not improved him. He figures as a reformer, but his last effort at reform in his new party as between two candidates, both of that party, was to support Mr. Fitzgerald with purse and vote against Mr. Storrow. In this campaign Mr. Foss appears as a National reformer and the particular reform he aims at is another immediate revision of the tariff with a view of lowering it, as he charges to the tariff the high prices of the present time."

The longer the campaign lasted the more doubt was expressed by the Republicans about the result. Gov Draper spoke at a rally at Harwich. In his speech the Governor took this fling at his old poiltical adversary, Foss:

"This gentleman has run for more offices or nominations in both parties in the last five or six years than any other man I know of in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, unless it is Mr. E. Gerry Brown of Brockton. He tried to disrupt the Republican party when he was in it, and I will prognosticate now that before the Democratic party gets through with him they will find his capacity in this direction greater than that of any man they have had in their midst for a long time.

"While in the Republican party his idea was to rule or ruin. He could do neither. In the Democratic party his idea is to rule, and as far as the party is concerned he seems to be absolutely successful. As far as the votes of the people are concerned I hope he never will be successful.

Election day was March 22 and Foss swept the district. Buchanan's defeat was overwhelming. Foss' plurality was

5647. Two years before, Lovering, the Republican candidate, carried the district by 14,356. Foss carried Brockton, Buchanan's home city. He had a plurality in 33 of the 44 towns of the district.

Democrats all over the country were jubilant. Some said it was a rebuke to Lodge. Champ Clark said it was the best political news since the close of the polls in 1892. When Mr. Foss appeared in Washington to take the oath of office, arm in arm with his brother, Congressman Foss of Chicago, he was made much of by the Democrats and the Republicans were anxious and curious to see the man who had turned a Republican plurality of 14,000 into a Democratic victory of 5,000. For a short time Congressman Foss was much sought after in Washington. He took very little part in Congressional proceedings, however, and spent as little time as he could at the capital. He delivered one speech on the tariff while in Congress. If it wasn't an argument for free trade then some tariff experts are mistaken, for they so regarded it.

The ink on the paper announcing Foss' election was hardly dry when Mayor Fitzgerald and other prominent Democrats announced that Foss was the logical candidate for Governor in the Fall. Logical or not, Foss began secretly to lay his wires for the nomination and with the aid of several leading Democrats succeeded in getting it.

CHAPTER XXXI

EVENTS LEADING UP TO NOMINATION OF FOSS FOR GOVERNOR—DEMOCRATS UNABLE TO NOMINATE CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR AT CONVENTION—NAME FREDERICK W. MANSFIELD AS STOP GAP CANDIDATE—FOSS WINS NOMINATION ON MAIL BALLOT—DEFEATS HAMLIN.

MR. Foss had arrived politically. He had been a candidate in the Republican party for Lieutenant Governor and was laughed out of court. He had been a candidate for delegate to the Republican National convention and was defeated. He won the Republican nomination for Congress in the 11th district twice after spirited contests, but was twice defeated at the polls. Through the instrumentality of the recently despised Democratic party, he climbed higher politically than he had ever publicly aspired. With the Democratic label he had been chosen to Congress. With the same party label he was to be elected to the highest office in the State.

Foss had an abundance of that which generally attracts the membership of a political party—money. Funds are necessary to conduct a political campaign. He had the reputation of being a free spender when he was personally interested in a cause. The practical Democratic politician encouraged his candidacy for Governor. Again and again, Mr. Foss was quoted as saying that he was not a candidate and that he wanted to see Vahey renominated for Governor. When Mr. Foss was elected to Congress, Vahey congratulated him warmly and added: "We must now set about to give Massachusetts proper representation in the Senate of the United States," but Mr. Foss did not jump at the senatorial bait. His mind was set on the Governorship. His submarines were busy with their under sea warfare on Vahey. One of his chief supporters was Chairman Macleod of the Democratic State Committee. Mr. Macleod had labored with Foss the year before to join the Democratic party.

The Foss movement gained such momentum that by the middle of April Mr. Vahey, who had made two campaigns as

the Democratic nominee for Governor, stepping into the breach when nobody else cared for the difficult and hopeless task, felt it necessary to publicly declare his position, announcing that he was a candidate and would remain in the contest until the convention ballots were counted. A poll of the Democratic town and city chairmen showed that a majority of them felt that Vahey was entitled to another nomination if he desired it.

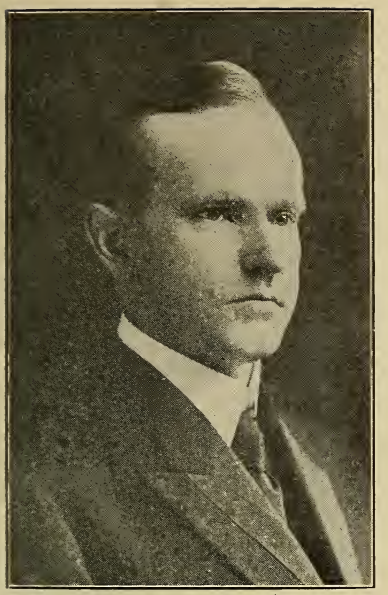
Things drifted until the picnic and outing season arrived—July and August—when the Foss talk got a new impetus. Mayor Fitzgerald threatened to become a candidate. In the middle of August when Congressman Foss was asked about his attitude, he said:

"I will not lift my finger for the nomination. I have said that I will not be a candidate against James H. Vahey and I am adhering strictly to that statement, all reports to the contrary notwithstanding."

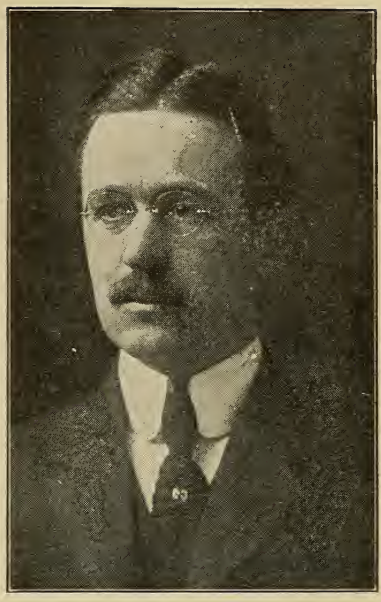
Late in August, Charles S. Hamlin, believing that there was to be a contest for the nomination for Governor threw his hat into the ring and published his platform. One by one, Vahey found his supporters slipping away from him and going over to the Foss camp. He complained with some bitterness of treachery and disloyalty and he reluctantly concluded that Foss was out for first place on the Democratic ticket.

The caucuses were well attended. Great interest was manifested in the result. Nobody had enough delegates to nominate in the convention. The campaign was renewed after the caucuses and every delegate was canvassed. The State convention was held at Faneuil Hall, Oct. 6th. District Attorney Pelletier of Suffolk County was temporary chairman and Ex-Congressman John R. Thayer of Worcester permanent presiding officer. It was a good old fashioned Democratic convention, lasting from forenoon until long after midnight. In many respects it was like the " Pink Ticket" convention at Springfield. The first two ballots for the gubernatorial nominee on both of which Foss led, were:

Number of Ballots Cast	991	886
Necessary for a choice	496	444
Eugene N. Foss	383	438
James H. Vahey	302	425
Charles S. Hamlin	295	20
Scattering	11	3



Calvin Coolidge.



James M. Swift.

John E. White.

Charles H. Innes.

On the first ballot Foss lacked 113 of the necessary number to nominate, while on the second ballot he came within six votes of the nomination. Vahey and Hamlin were nearly even on the first ballot, the former leading by only seven votes. On the second ballot many Hamlin delegates went to Vahey. The result was that while Foss still led on the second ballot he was only 13 votes ahead of Vahey.

The Australian method of naming the candidate was used. The first ballot was announced at 8.30 P. M., more than eight hours after the convention had assembled. The second ballot was announced a few minutes after midnight.

The candidates and their representatives had the impression that the nominations must be filed Oct. 7th at 5 P. M. with the Secretary of State. There was no hope of the convention being able to nominate and after the second ballot a conference of both sides was suggested. The chair named a representative committee and the conference agreed on recommending to the convention that Frederick W. Mansfield, a warm supporter of Vahey, should be nominated in order to file the certificate, that a nominating committee of four be named by the presiding officer of the convention, they to select a fifth member and when the nominating committee agreed on a candidate Mr. Mansfield should withdraw. Mr. Mansfield agreed to do so in a statement he made to the delegates. The convention ratified the agreement and adopted the suggestion.

Mr. Vahey explained to the delegates that it would be futile to attempt to nominate either himself or Mr. Foss, the leading candidate, because of what happened in the convention. It was evident, he declared, that neither would be satisfactory after what had transpired. He said it was the duty of every Democrat to make a sacrifice for the party in its hour of need and he was willing to sacrifice his ambitions and step aside in the interest of harmony.

There were cries of "You stick, Jim," but Mr. Vahey said the program had been agreed upon, there was no time for further dispute and it would have to be accepted by the convention for the good of all. He added that the situation confronting the party required heroic treatment and he was ready to take his medicine. "For God's sake," said Mr. Vahey, "let me implore you to take the program I have outlined to you."

Martin M. Lomasney, who stood immediately behind

Vahey on the platform, seconded the motion to accept the report, and although there were some objections, the chair declared it carried, after the convention had rescinded its motion to proceed to another ballot. Before the conference committee left the convention hall several members of the committee asked Chairman Thayer to accept the nomination as a compromise candidate, but he declined. It didn't look then as if the Democratic nomination would be worth the paper it was written on. The Hamlin managers saw on the first ballot that they were not in it and word was passed around the hall to go to Vahey on the next ballot. Had all of the Hamlin supporters gone to Vahey, the latter would have been nominated.

The Foss men were on the alert and gathered in quite a big bunch of Hamlin delegates or their credentials. It was felt by many that if Mr. Hamlin had made a personal appeal from the floor of the convention to his delegates to vote for Vahey the latter would have won, but on the next ballot, 20 of them, notwithstanding Senator Doyle's fervent appeal, stuck to Hamlin on the second ballot.

Scenes of the wildest disorder, in which prominent delegates engaged in blows on the platform marked the evening session. At times pandemonium reigned, epithets were exchanged by rival Foss, Hamlin and Vahey men. In some respects the scenes of disorder exceeded anything witnessed in the Democratic convention at Springfield three years before. William F. Murray, the Democratic member of the Executive Council, was thrown bodily off the platform. Daniel J. Kiley, who was the permanent chairman of the Springfield convention, a strong Foss supporter, and Dr. Santosuosso, a prominent Hamlinite, were both forcibly removed from the platform during the free-for-all fight after the announcement of the result of the second ballot.

The convention did not attempt to select a candidate for Lieutenant Governor from the field of five but left that also to a committee. This committee named Clifton R. Loring, executive clerk at Democratic headquarters, intending to substitute another name later. Loring, like Mansfield, was a "Stop-Gap" candidate. The convention delegated its power to select a candidate for both places to a committee as already stated. The committee consisted of Frederick J. Macleod, William P. Hayes of Springfield, Joseph A. Maynard of Bos-

ton, and Robert J. Crowley of Lowell. The four were unable to agree on a fifth member. It was discovered after the adjournment of the convention that the time for filing nomination certificates did not expire at 5 P. M. Oct. 7, but on Monday following. The committee of five less one had until 5 P. M. Oct. 24 to substitute their selections.

Prof Stimson of Dedham, was chairman of the committee on resolutions, but because of the great interest in the outcome of the contest for the nomination for Governor and the liveliness of the convention, few paid any attention to the resolutions or the nominating speeches.

The day following the convention, Mr. Foss declared that he was out of the contest. Vahey was more emphatic and positive. He said that he was only not a candidate but that his name would not appear on the ballot election day. For several days the nominating committee met and conferred. Macleod and Maynard were for Foss, Hayes and Crowley were for Hamlin. The names of many leading Democrats were mentioned as compromise candidates but the committee's choice was limited to Foss and Hamlin. While the deadlock was on a letter was received from Foss suggesting a new convention for the nomination of candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor. Hayes and Crowley stoutly opposed this scheme. Macleod and Maynard supported it. Oct. 12, there was a meeting of the Democratic State Committee called for the purpose of considering the critical situation and the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved that a special delivery letter be mailed to every regularly elected delegate to the recent State convention, with a special delivery return envelope enclosed, addressed to William P. Hayes, Secretary, Committee of Four, having power to select a candidate for Governor, requesting their reply immediately, stating their preference for the most available candidate for Governor at this time for the information and guidance of the special committee by the convention named."

The State Committee summoned the special committee before them. Maj Crowley refused to go, saying that he was not a member of the State Committee, and that he didn't consider the State Committee had anything to do with the nomination of a candidate for Governor.

"Tell the members," said he to the messenger, "that I refuse to recognize them in the important matter our committee has in hand and that they are butting into something that is none of their busi-

ness. The committee, which I have the honor to be a member of, received its authority from the State Convention, which adjourned at 1.30 A. M. last Friday. I consider it a move in the interest of Mr Foss for Governor, engineered by the Chairman of the State Committee, who is his accredited representative and has been using his office as Chairman of the State Committee to force Mr. Foss on the Democrats of the State as their candidate for Governor."

Mr. Hayes took the same position. The State Committee went on with its plan of nominating a gubernatorial candidate by mail and the Hamlin men finally agreed to abide by the result of the poll. The day following the State Committee meeting, Mr. Foss said that he felt sure that if there had been another ballot at the State convention he would have been nominated.

"I am not seeking to be Governor of Massachusetts" said he, "but I do stand for a principle and would like an expression of opinion from the voters of Massachusetts and their full support of that principle. I want all tariff barriers between the United States and Canada removed. This means far more to Massachusetts, New England and the United States in a business way than anything else now under discussion. We can forge ahead as never before with free trade relations over our Northern border."

He added that he was the logical candidate for Governor. He was now demanding the nomination. The Hamlin men learned that the special delivery letters to the delegates all bore a number on the flap of the envelope and immediately charged that the State Committee had "keyed" the delegates, that is, each delegate was numbered and the number on the flap of the return envelope corresponded with the number beside his name on the list of delegates in the possession of Chairman Macleod of the State Committee and a member of the Nominating Committee.

It was an easy matter for the State Committee officials to keep track of those who had not replied by checking off the number on the list at headquarters as the return envelopes arrived addressed to William P. Hayes, Secretary of the Nominating Committee. To prevent this Mr. Hayes had the mail held for him at the postoffice until a certain date, when he called for it and publicly opened it at State Headquarters.

The gubernatorial fever had got such a firm hold on Mr. Foss that he filed Progressive-Democratic nomination papers with the Eelection Commissioners of Boston for certification before the mail order canvass was announced. They were to

be used in case Mansfield declined to withdraw or the action of the State Committee was ruled illegal by the Ballot Law Commission, he said. At the appointed time the Nominating Committee met to open the mail ballot and count the votes. When they were tabulated, the result was as follows:

Whole number of votes cast	989
Necessary for a choice	495
Foss	495
Hamlin	484
Vahey	3
Riordan	3
Mansfield	1
Blanks	3

As soon as Mr. Hamlin was informed of the vote he despatched a brief note to the committee withdrawing his name. Loring's nomination for Lieutenant Governor having been ruled illegal by the Ballot Law Commission, Ex-Senator Thomas F. Cassidy of Adams, was substituted for him. Thomas P. Riley who had filed for Lieutenant Governor was induced to withdraw and the committee agreed to certify Foss and Cassidy as the State ticket. Mansfield withdrew and the last act was over in this exciting political melodrama.

In the Republican camp there was peace and harmony. Gov Draper, Lieut Gov Frothingham and the other candidates for places on the State ticket were nominated Oct. 6 in a convention so mild and devoid of interest that the action seemed almost perfunctory. Tremont Temple, where the convention met attracted few spectators in comparison with the attendance of other years. More than 400 accredited delegates remained away and sent no substitutes. There was not a sound in disapproval of a single proposition in the platform. Even Col Butler Ames, who was a candidate for senatorial honors permitted the indorsement of Senator Lodge without dissent. The delegates cheered for President Taft and Col Roosevelt, and gave Senator Lodge a rousing reception.

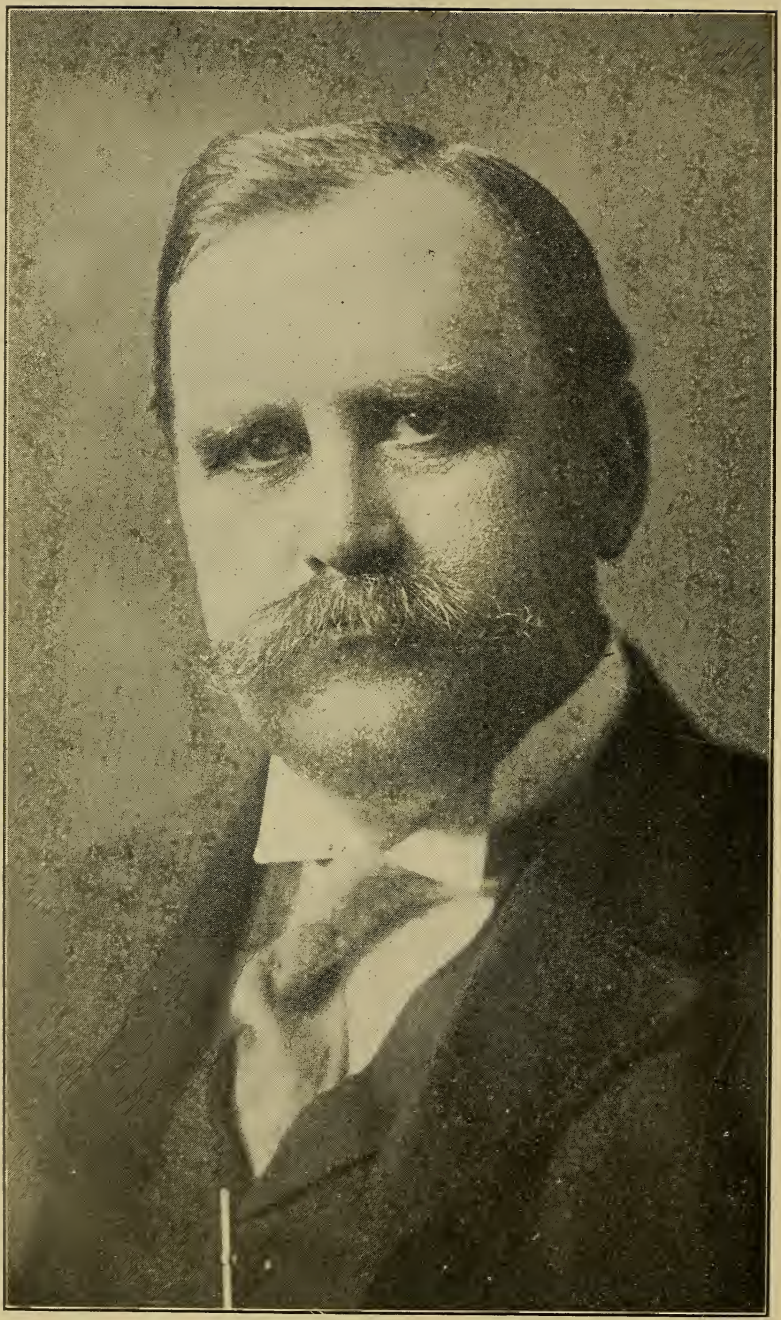
The platform adopted was largely commendatory of what the party had done, and this was the note most often sounded by the permanent chairman, Robert Luce. Praise of the National administration, a demand for tariff revision by a commission of experts and an indorsement of direct nominations were features of the platform. Gov Draper and Lieutenant Governor Frothingham, after they were nominated, appeared before the convention and expressed their appreciation.

"Last year," said the chairman of the State Committee, in calling the convention to order, "there were 168,000 registered voters in the State who did not take the trouble to go to the polls and vote—a little under 30 per cent. I believe it is little less than a crime that nearly 80 per cent of these were Republicans."

The presiding officer, considered the high cost of living, the paramount issue. Holding the party in power responsible was the natural impulse, he reasoned, but reminded the delegates that extravagance and waste by the American people had tended to raise prices.

"We are reaching a point where we cannot support ourselves without help from abroad," Mr. Luce declared. Coming to the tariff question, the chairman advised a revision, one schedule at a time, by a commission of experts. He deplored the scheme of letting Congress do it. "Business men want the tariff taken out of politics," said Mr. Luce. He was enthusiastic in his commendation of the Bar and Bottle bill, and said the Republican party would go still further to suppress the evils of the saloon.

The resolutions were read by Congressman Charles G. Washburn of Worcester. All the nominations were made unanimously. The Socialists, Socialist-Labor and Drys renominated their gubernatorial candidates of the year before.



Governor Foss.

CHAPTER XXXII

STATE AND CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN OF 1910—FOSS DEFEATS DRAPER BY 33,000—DEMOCRATIC TIDAL WAVE SWEEPS COUNTRY—DEMOCRATS MAKE BIG GAINS IN THE STATE LEGISLATURE.

FOSS as the Democratic candidate for Governor in 1910 reminded one of the dog who had run away with another canine's bone. By all the rules of fair play the nomination belonged to Vahey who had led two forlorn hopes when the chances for election were remote. During the pre-convention fight the Vahey adherents attacked Foss' labor record and quoted Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor against him. Mr. Gompers didn't like Mr. Foss' labor record in Congress, but in E. Gerry Brown, one of his new political lieutenants and prominent in labor circles, Mr. Foss found a ready champion who claimed that Mr. Foss's labor record in Congress was satisfactory to organized labor.

Mr. Foss gathered about him a staff of ready letter writers and immediately after his nomination began to lambast his opponents with typewritten statements. The campaign on the Republican side was well under way before the Democrats had settled their party differences and Mr. Foss felt the necessity of speeding up his campaign. Gov Draper and his associates realized that they had a hard fight on their hands. They knew that with Foss as the candidate, the Democrats would not want for the sinews of war. Foss, they reasoned, had the cash and he would not hesitate to spend it. They had seen Democrats fight among themselves before and then unite against their opponent. Republicans also noticed that the tide of public sentiment was setting against them. They had witnessed the Democrats increase their strength to 182,000 votes at the last State election. The Payne-Aldrich bill was unpopular and they had to contend against the high cost of living.

Like Champ Clark, the Republicans had noticed that the most sensitive nerve in the human body was that which leads to the pocket book. People rebelled at high prices and were

ready to make a change. They were willing to give the Democrats an opportunity to reduce the high cost of living which some Republican spellbinders declared was really the cost of high living. The Republicans, with all these things in mind, worked hard to stem the tide.

Foss knew that his wealth afforded the Republicans an opportunity to criticise him. He "beat them to it," however, as the saying is. He issued a broadside against Senator Lodge and Congressman Gardner, the former's son-in-law, saying that they were among the worst offenders in the spending of money in elections. Senator Lodge in a speech before the New England Postmasters' Association had decried the use of money in elections, saying that it would be a sorry day for the country when the result of an election would be determined by votes bought and sold. That gave Foss his opportunity and he took advantage of it. In reply, Mr. Foss wrote in an open letter to Mr. Lodge:

"I am very glad to see that Senator Lodge has experienced a change of heart. It is time. There are those who have not yet forgotten Senator Lodge's early campaign for Congress when his district was flooded with money, how this scholar in politics studied his check book more than works on political economy and depended upon it to do its work.

"The public has not forgotten the kind of campaign he waged when chairman of the Republican State Committee in the Robinson campaign against Butler. If ever money was used lavishly and to affect the voters, it was used by him in that campaign.

"The public has not forgotten the Shaw-Gardner campaign for Congress when Senator Lodge's son-in-law practically covered the district with a blanket of bank-notes and expenditures ran up into the scores of thousands of dollars.

"Senator Lodge and his son-in-law have done more to debauch and corrupt the electorate of Massachusetts by the lavish and uncalled for expenditure of money than any other two men in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and there have been some pretty free spenders at that in the Republican party."

Senator Lodge was Mr. Foss' favorite target in the campaign. The Senator's term was expiring in March, 1911 and the Legislature to be elected would choose a Senator in January Congressman Butler Ames was a candidate against Lodge. Ex-President Roosevelt spoke for the Republican State ticket on the evening of Oct. 21 and made a special appeal for the re-election of Senator Lodge. Col Roosevelt, of course, had a great crowd at the Arena. He spoke from a raised platform roped off like a prize fight ring. It was heralded abroad that the Colonel would "knock 'em over the

ropes." In his speech he make a savage attack on Foss saying that, "It would be scandalous for the Commonwealth to elect as Governor a man, who, having tried to dominate one party and failed, having made money in stocks, seeks to rise in public life not by his record but by force of effrontry and power that comes from money."

The attack on Foss by Col Roosevelt stirred the Democrats who declared that the statement of the Ex-President was far from the truth and unworthy of a man who had occupied such a high office. The Democrats followed up the Roosevelt meeting with one at Tremont Temple at which all the big guns of the party in Boston were present, including Hamlin and Vahey. Both pledged their support to Foss. The only reference Candidate Foss made to Col Roosevelt's attack on him was:

"I shall not be swerved by personal attacks upon me, nor diverted from the discussion of the issues that are of so much import to the people. I would deem myself unworthy to lead a great popular movement if I undertook to notice such attempts to befog the public minds by being drawn into discussion of things that have no place in an earnest discussion of political policies."

But the small fry attacked the Colonel with enthusiasm and delight. Mr. Foss' speech was a narrative of what he had tried to do in an industrial way in the State as a manufacturer and the rebuffs he had met at the hands of the Republican leaders who had always opposed, he said, any real tariff revision on a broad and beneficial basis. He scoffed at the tariff commission established by the Taft administration saying:

"Realizing that the people are aroused and indignant, the Republican leaders urge that the correction of admitted evils be left to a tariff commission and they set up a bogus commission which is composed merely of clerical assistants to the President, whose existence is not justified by law and which would be ended by the refusal of Congress to make an appropriation for its continuance.

"It has no power to demand and obtain the information necessary to the securing of data that would be sufficiently reliable to enable it to arrive at a correct conclusion. It is simply as it stands today, a device to prevent any action on the tariff, and the people know it."

By this time the campaign was in full swing. The Democratic fighting blood was up and they bade their old-time political antagonists to come on, in the language of Macbeth:

"Lay on, Macduff,
"And damned be him that first cries, 'Hold, enough!'"

Senator Lodge answered Mr. Foss' charge that he had spent money freely in corrupting the electorate, saying:

"Mr. Foss appeared some years ago suddenly as a candidate for the Congressional nomination in the 11th district. He had never been heard of in politics before. His expenditures in securing that nomination over Melvin O. Adams were notorious. The Boston Post on Oct. 13, 1902, said of Mr. Foss' opponent, 'Sullivan is making a fight against political debauchery.'

"In common with many Republicans I supported Mr. Foss as the party candidate, but the district was disgusted by his methods and he was defeated. Two years later he ran with a like result.

"He then tried to be a delegate to the National Convention. Large sums of money were spent in his behalf for that purpose and he was defeated by Col. Benton. He subsequently made an effort for Lieutenant Governor by similar methods and with like results.

"He then passed over to the Democratic party. He tried to buy the Republican party and failed. He has just tried to buy the Democratic party and has failed in that, although by devious methods he has received the nomination. No man that knows anything of politics doubts that if the Democratic party had been left to choose its candidate without the sinister use of money Mr. Hamlin would have been nominated.

"The scenes at the Quincy House the night before the Democratic convention, the performances at Faneuil Hall, the mail ballot by special delivery, are all fresh in everyone's mind, and even then Mr. Foss only got a bare majority of the mail ballot and only defeated Mr. Hamlin, who had no money to throw into the contest, by less than a dozen votes.

"The question now is whether he can buy Massachusetts. I do not believe the State is for sale. I do not believe the venal vote so far as it exists can decide the election."

In the last week of the campaign the labor men, who were supporting Foss, got a letter from Samuel Gompers in which the latter said that if Foss would be true to labor he ought to be supported and declared that Draper, who vetoed the Eight Hour bill, ought to be defeated. To prove that Mr. Foss did urge Gov Draper to veto the Eight Hour bill, the Republicans produced Foss' letter signed, "B. F. Sturtevant Co., E. N. Foss, Treasurer." But the labor men didn't care. They were out to get the scalp of Gov Draper. Mr. Foss kept Gov Draper and Senator Lodge explaining. His literary bureau was working overtime and as fast as he read one attack from the stump it supplied him with another. It was effective campaigning. "Keep the other fellow explaining" was Foss' idea. Almost every day the newspaper headlines told of some "explanation" from Gov Draper or some other prominent Republican. The mill towns and cities were enthusiastic for the Democratic ticket.

As election day approached, the betting odds were on Foss. The day before election the betting was 10 to 6 with Foss the favorite. The Republicans did everything they could to arouse their voters. The Democrats from Foss down were claiming 50,000 plurality for the head of the ticket. The Republican managers would not give out figures. "We will win," was their only prediction.

Election day proved that Foss was only about 20,000 out of the way on his plurality. It was 33,779. The vote for Governor and Lieutenant Governor was: For Governor: Foss, 227,473; Draper, 193,694; For Lieutenant Governor: Frothingham 202,823; Cassidy, 197,240. Frothingham's plurality, 5583.

Boston gave Foss a plurality of 27,357.

The Republicans fared better in the Congressional districts, electing 10 out of the 14 Congressmen. Some of them were elected by greatly reduced pluralities, however. For instance Congressman Lawrence's plurality was only 500 over Lewis, Gillett 418 over McKechnie, Wilder over Mitchell 117, Ames over Carmichael 554, and Harris over Thacher 156. The Cape was still insurgent. In the Fourth District John J. Mitchell was elected to fill the unexpired term of Congressman Tirrell who died. Wilder, the Republican nominee, was elected for the long term.

Representative William H. O'Brien of Boston volunteered to become the Democratic sacrifice in the 6th district. He made a lively campaign but Gardner won by a plurality of 5500. The Democrats elected to Congress were John A. Thayer in the third or Worcester district, who won over Congressman Washburn by 512, William F. Murray in the 9th, defeating Congressman John A. Keliher, Independent, James M. Curley in the 10th and Andrew J. Peters in the 11th. One of the reasons given for the defeat of Congressman Washburn was that the Republicans supposed they were voting for Ex-Congressman John R. Thayer of Worcester instead of John A. Thayer.

The Democrats gained eight seats in the State Senate, 44 in the House and on a joint vote they lacked 15 votes to beat Lodge for Senator. Verily their cup of happiness was being filled to the brim. Mr. Foss announced that his victory voiced the protest of Massachusetts against the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill, the high cost of living and the broken prom-

ises of the Republican party. Chairman Macleod of the Democratic State Committee rejoiced at the "downfall of Senator Lodge."

Commenting on the election Congressman Gardner said that it was no use blinking at the fact that the people were dissatisfied with the tariff. "I deplore the fact but I acknowledge it," added this doughty champion of a high tariff. Mr. Gardner invited political destruction in the campaign.

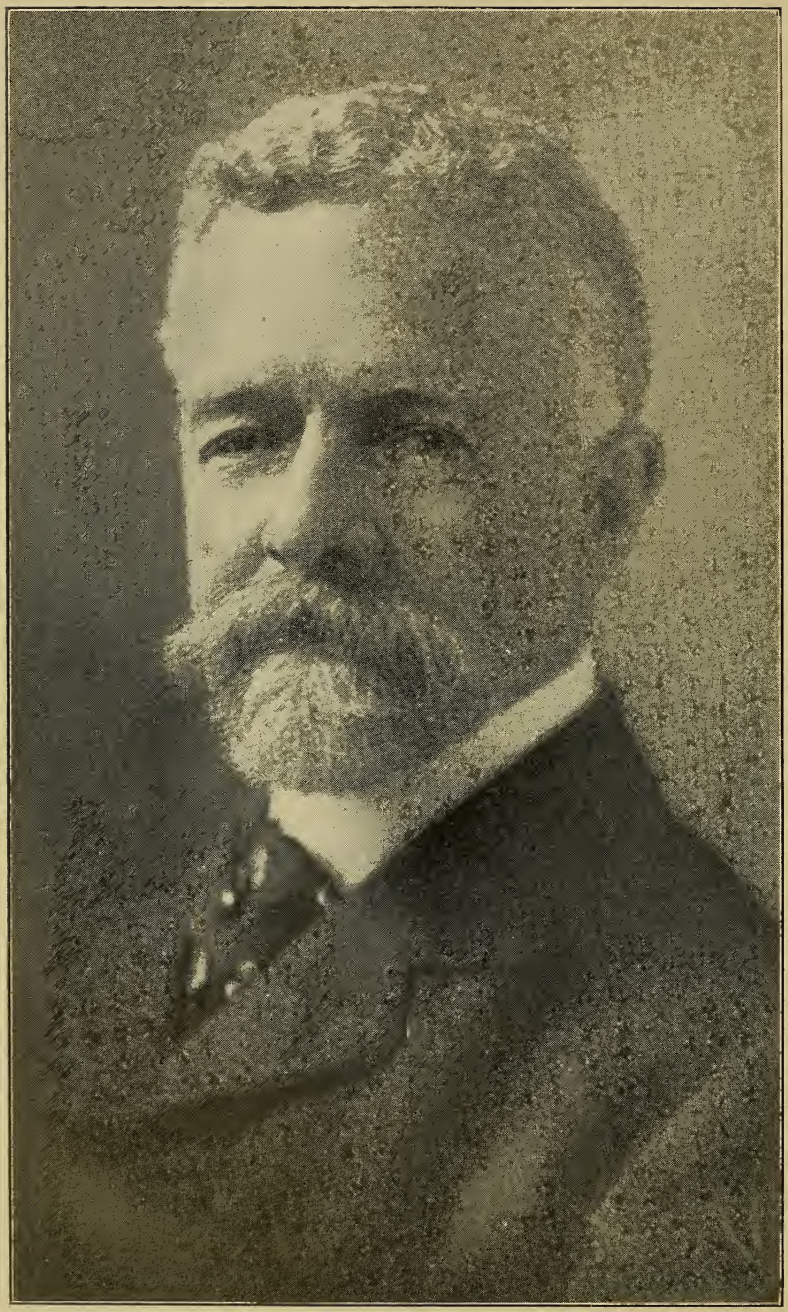
"You don't like the Payne tariff act," said he to one of his audiences, "so I've been told. Very well, why don't you hit the right man? Why don't you vote against me, who supported the bill, rather than against the Governor, who had nothing whatever to do with it? Not only did I support the bill, but, by the same token, I have no apologies to make."

Gov Draper transmitted his congratulations to Gov-elect Foss, and observed that he would cheerfully return to private life.

It was another Democratic tidal wave year. Congress was to be Democratic. The year 1910 introduced Woodrow Wilson to the public eye. He was elected Governor of New Jersey that Fall. Connecticut, Ohio, Nebraska, New York and Wyoming all chose Democratic Governors. Oyster Bay, Cincinnati, and Nahant went Democratic. Uncle Joe Cannon was one of the few Stand-pat survivors. "I am elected by 6000," he sent word in a message to his friends all over the country.

"I am elected by 6000. I am a Republican; I have kept the faith; I have endorsed and have not apologized for the legislation of this Congress," said the old Roman.

Mr. Foss made a return under the Corrupt Practice Act of spending $37,000 in his campaign. Gov Draper declared that his expenses were $17,000. The Governor-Elect named Dudley S. Holman of Taunton Secretary and Gardner I. Pearson of Lowell Adjutant-General. He spent a lot of time between election and the assembling of the Legislature trying to manufacture sentiment against Senator Lodge to prevent the latter's re-election.



Senator Lodge.

CHAPTER XXXIII

FOSS FAILS TO DEFEAT SENATOR LODGE FOR RE-ELECTION—MAKES PERSONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST SENATOR—LODGE WINS BY A CLOSE VOTE—AMES' POOR SHOWING.

HAVING defeated Draper for Governor, Mr. Foss turned his attention to Senator Lodge, demanding that the Senator retire as a candidate for re-election under pain of incurring the determined opposition of the new political boss of the State. Here was his chance to even political scores with Lodge for the humiliation the latter had publicly heaped upon him. Mr. Lodge declined to withdraw and ignored the fulmination of the Governor-elect. Mr. Foss tried to induce Col Gaston to become a candidate against Lodge but that gentleman refused, as did John R. Thayer, Richard Olney, Henry M. Whitney, in fact every Democrat he asked publicly.

Senator Lodge's friends were amazed at what they termed Foss' "brazen effrontry" and they began to rally about the Senator. It was the first real serious opposition Mr. Lodge had had in his senatorial career. Occasionally some Republican, smarting under a real or fancied slight or wrong arose to object to Senator Lodge's control of party affairs, but he never had had serious opposition in his own party.

In a way, Foss' violent opposition helped the Senator and the latter's friends declared they "loved him for the enemies he had made." The opposition to Lodge united the Republicans. A poll of the legislators by the Boston Globe shortly after election, showed that Mr. Lodge must busy himself if he was to be re-elected. Speaker Walker was among the first to come to his aid. Leading Republicans and members-elect of the Legislature followed. Senator Crane was early on the scene in behalf of his colleague. Of Senator Crane's activities, Mr. Foss remarked "Uncle Murray better remove his gumshoes and take to the tall timber. Gumshoeing won't accomplish what he is after this time." If Gov-elect Foss received letters and telegrams encouraging him in his opposition to Lodge, the latter also got messages of encouragement and offers of help. Foss published most of his, but Lodge

declined to make his public on the ground that the fair name of the old Commonwealth meant more to him than the satisfaction of seeing paraded in public print what leading citizens thought of the newly elected Chief Executive.

Representative Norman H. White of Brookline, jumped into the forefront of the Lodge firing line and asked Mr. Foss 10 questions relative to his past and present political performances. Foss replied to each Republican who tackled him. As the time arrived for the convening of the Legislature, Mr. Foss asked Senator Lodge to join him in a plan to defer the election of a Senator for one year and allow the people at the State election in 1911 to indicate their senatorial preference at the polls. He offered to submit the suggestion to the Legislature. The offer was ignored by Senator Lodge.

Then Mr. Foss announced that he would campaign against Mr. Lodge until he was inaugurated Governor and he invited the opposition candidates to join him in his tour of the State. Robert Luce stepped into the breach and challenged Foss to a joint debate on Lodge, the high cost of living and Republican policies in general. Mr. Foss not being a debater, declined to meet a speaker of Mr. Luce's abilities. After a while the much heralded anti-Lodge tour of the State began on the Cape. Foss was able to muster on his staff the following, all of whom had been active in his campaign for Governor: Ex-Mayor Dickinson of Cambridge, Senator Nason of Haverhill, Ex-Representative William B. Wilcutt of Boston, Andrew J. Solis of Newton, a woolen manufacturer and Sherwin L. Cook of Boston. At Provincetown, the Foss party found Norman H. White on the ground distributing a pamphlet entitled "The Truth about Lodge." The anti-Lodge barnstormers had a very good meeting and pressed into service a young woman singer who rendered several campaign songs including one entitled "Has Anybody Here Seen Cabot?" set to the popular tune "Has Anybody Here Seen Kelley?" The uncomplimentary references to the Senator in the song pleased the Fossites but aroused the indignation of Mr. Lodge's friends.

After the State election Senator Lodge returned to Washington, but when the Foss tour began his friends sent for him to return to Massachusetts. Mr. Lodge replied that he would come home early in January. Meanwhile, in the Senate, Mr. Lodge had declared his willingness to revise certain tariff schedules.

"'When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be;
When the devil was well, the devil a monk was he.'"

was Gov-elect Foss' comment on Senator Lodge's speech in the Senate favoring tariff revision, schedule by schedule, along the lines suggested by President Taft. At an anti-Lodge meeting in Faneuil Hall, Foss referred to Lodge's offer to help revise the tariff as a "Deathbed repentance."

One of Mr. Foss's last public anti-Lodge meetings was at Lynn. Lynn had always been one of Lodge's strongholds. He had represented that city in Congress and he had many warm supporters there. The Foss meeting was a fizzle. Representative Cogswell, whom Foss depended upon to preside, declined to have anything to do with it. The audience was made up mostly of Democrats. Representative Odlin, a Progressive Republican was the presiding officer and speeches were made by Sherwin L. Cook, Arthur L. Nason, William B. Wilcutt, Ex-Mayor Dickinson of Cambridge, Mr. Foss and Asa R. Minard of Boston. Representative Michael S. Keenan of Lynn undertook to question Governor-elect Foss regarding a promoting charge Foss had made against Lodge in a previous speech, but Mr. Foss paid no attention to Keenan and proceeded with his appeal to defeat the Senator.

A few days after the Lynn meeting Henry M. Whitney who had worked with Foss in the Reciprocity movement and who had taken a great interest in the poltical success of Mr. Foss in the gubernatorial campaign, came out in a public statement for the re-election of Lodge. Col Gaston was Mr. Whitney's personal preference for Senator, but, he said, since Col Gaston had seen fit to withdraw from the contest his judgment was that Senator Lodge should be chosen. Importance was attached to Mr. Whitney's stand, not only because he had been one of the foremost advocates of reciprocity with Canada, which Senator Lodge had been accused of opposing, but also because of his close personal, financial and political relations with Gov-elect Foss. Mr. Foss' Democratic cohorts proceeded to read Mr. Whitney out of the Democratic party. It was all right for them to support Foss, a Republican, for Governor but an unpardonable sin for Mr. Whitney to favor a Republican for United States Senator.

Then came the Symphony Hall meeting when Senator Lodge rendered an account of his stewardship before a sympathetic audience that packed the hall and 2000 more over-

flowed into Chickering Hall. Hundreds were turned away owing to lack of accommodations. It was a great welcome Senator Lodge's friends tendered him. There was no presiding officer, no master of ceremonies. The senior Senator was in the house of his friends. The band was playing and the big audience was singing "America" when promptly, at 8 o'clock, the Senator walked upon the platform unattended.

After five minutes of enthusiastic applause and cheering, a hush fell on the audience and the Senator began his speech. As he recounted the things he had done during the past 18 years in the United States Senate, and as he got warmed up to his subject, the audience more and more began to feel the thrill of his personality. His account of his stewardship was fascinating. He quoted with something like dramatic effect from a speech he made in New York in 1884, in which he pointed out the great questions that were coming up and that would have to be settled and in the settling of which he had taken an active part.

He aroused great enthusiasm when he told of his activity in the upbuilding of the navy, because he believed a powerful navy was the one great assurance of peace with the United States. His work in suppressing the White Slave traffic was also loudly applauded, as was his work in connection with the Philippines, especially the organic act which gave stable government to the islands, and the free trade clause in the Payne-Aldrich tariff, which he said was one of the reasons why he voted for that tariff.

When he said, "I am a Republican and a Protectionist," there was another great outburst of applause which was repeated as he unfolded his reasons for his political faith. He pointed out that he had been working for reciprocity with Canada for seven years, but he did not believe in unequal reciprocity with Canada. He had voted for a corporation tax, which he regarded as equivalent to an income tax. He had voted for an income tax, but that question was being solved in many states by means of an inheritance tax. "I think I can say," said Senator Lodge in the course of his speech,

"That I:
"Put my creed into my deed
Nor spoke with double tongue."

Senator Lodge's peroration deserves a place in any narrative of his campaign for a fourth term. He was never more

eloquent or intensely dramatic than when, after briefly recounting his career in Washington, he stepped forward to the edge of the stage and said:

"Thus, in outline, and only outline is possible, I have given an account of my service and of my opinions on present questions. That record I submit to the judgment of my fellow citizens and to those who represent them in the Legislature. It is not for me to comment upon it or to plead for it in my own behalf.

"Two things only will I say. My public service is all public. I have never had a private interest which in the remotest way conflicted with or affected my performance of my public duties. I have never been engaged in any private business. I have never been a director or officer of any corporation since I entered Congress and only once before that time. I have never had a connection direct or indirect with the promotion of any financial or industrial enterprise. I have no secrets. I have nothing to conceal.

"No one is so acutely conscious as I of the mistakes I have made; no one realizes as I realize how often I have failed to reach in full completion the ideals I have sought to attain. But the record is there for the world to see. There is not a page upon which the people of Massachusetts are not welcome to look; there is not a line that I am afraid or ashamed to have my children and my grandchildren read when I am gone.

"I have cherished with reverence the dignity and the traditions of the great office which I hold. I have never suffered them to be lowered. I will not drag them through the mire of personal controversy or soil them with the rancor of personal altercation for any reward that can be offered me.

"I received from my predecessors the great traditions of the Senatorship of Massachusetts as a sacred trust, and they shall remain in my hands or pass from me to my successor unstained, untainted, unimpaired. I would at least have the people of Massachusetts able to say of me that

'I nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable scene.'

"I am a Senator of the United States. My first allegiance as an American is to the great Nation founded, built up, preserved by heroic sacrifices and untold treasure. My first loyalty is to that bright flag in which the stars glitter and to which we bare our heads in homage as it floats above our soldiers and our sailors and the sight of which dims our eyes and chokes our throats when we see it in a foreign land.

"But I am also a Senator from Massachusetts, and that last word touches the chords of memory with tender hand and moves the heart of all to whom it speaks of home. I was born and bred in Massachusetts. I love every inch of the old State, from the rocks of Essex and the glittering sands of the Cape to the fair valley of the Connecticut and the wooded Berkshire hills.

"Here my people have lived before me since the days of the Massachusetts Bay Company. They lie at rest in the graveyards of Essex, on Boston Common, beneath the shadow of Park-st church. Here I have lived all my life. Here my dead are buried. Here I hope and pray my children and my children's children will always live and serve the State in peace and war as best they may.

"To this love I add the deep gratitude I feel to the people of Massachusetts for the confidence they have so long reposed in me. No matter what the future may have in store, that gratitude which comes from my heart can never be either chilled or lessened. To be Senator from Massachusetts had been the pride of my life. I have put aside great offices for to me no public place, except one to which I never aspired, has seemed equal to that which I held, and there was assuredly none which could so engage my affections.

"I have valued the high positions given me in the Senate because they meant large opportunity and testified to the trust and confidence of my associates. But I prize them most because they give to Massachusetts the place which is due her in the councils of the Nation.

"I have felt greatly honored when the Republican party of the Nation placed me at the head of the Committee on Resolutions and twice made me permanent chairman of a National Convention. But I cared for those honors most because I could lay them at the feet of Massachusetts as mute witnesses that now, as in the past, she was a leader among the States.

"Every tradition of our great State is dear to me, every page of her history is to me a household word. To her service I have given the best years of my life and the best that was in me to give. I believe that I have not been an altogether unprofitable servant. I have given my all; no man can do more.

"Others may well serve her with greater ability than I. I fervently hope that there will be many such others in the days to come, when her light will still shine before men as it now shines with steady radiance in the pages of history. Others may easily serve her better than I in those days yet to be, but of this I am sure; no one can ever serve her with a greater love or deeper loyalty."

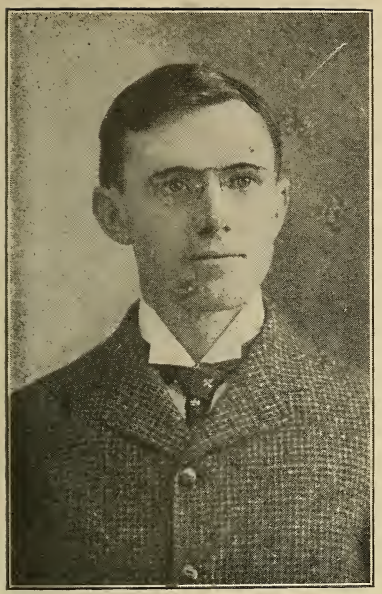
The speech was well received throughout the State and there is little doubt that Mr. Lodge disarmed some of his critics by his free, frank and manly statement of his case.

Col Gaston felt obliged to say something on the situation in order to allay Democratic suspicions that he would prefer to see Lodge elected to certain Democrats and he issued a statement saying:

"I believe that a Democrat should be nominated by a caucus of the Democratic members-elect of the next Legislature to oppose Mr. Lodge and that every possible effort should be made by the Democrats in the Legislature to defeat Mr. Lodge with a Democrat but not with a Republican.

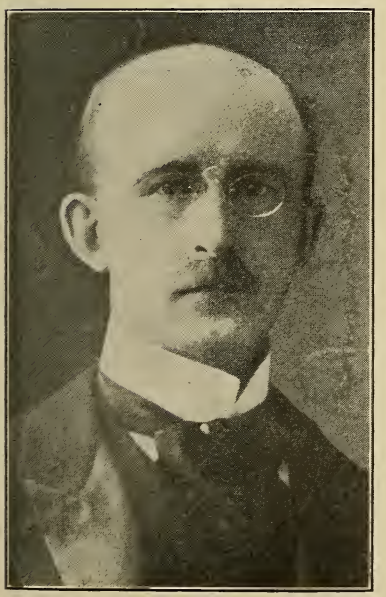
"I am opposed to the re-election of Mr. Lodge. In my opinion it is still the duty of the Democratic members of the Legislature to nominate a proper Democratic candidate and to support him to the end."

A few of the anti-Lodge Republicans, notably Russell Wood of Cambridge tried to start a movement for Speaker Walker but the latter put his foot down on the plan, announcing that he would nominate Mr. Lodge for re-election in the Republican caucus of the members of the Legislature.



William P. Hayes.

Robert J. Crowley.



Frederick J. Macleod.

Joseph A. Maynard.

After the adjournment of the Legislature on the afternoon of Jan. 13, a conference of the Democratic members was called. 117 out of 126 Democratic members attended and the situation was thoroughly canvassed. After an informal ballot for the purpose of getting the consensus of opinion of the members, in which 17 candidates were voted for, the high man being John R. Thayer, of Worcester, it was voted to caucus the following Monday.

Russell Wood sent out a call for a "Fair Play" conference of the Republicans. The Lodge men, a few of whom attended, made a farce of it and it adjourned without taking any action. Butler Ames and his friends were busy and Gov Foss was lending all the aid he could to demoralize the Republicans and at the same time keep the Democrats guessing what he was up to.

The first legislative skirmish in the U S Senatorial contest at the State House January 17th, resulted in the unanimous renomination of Senator Lodge in the Republican caucus. All of the avowed Ames men remained away, as well as a few anti-Lodge men. Some of Senator Lodge's supporters were unable to be present for business reasons. There were 28 absentees. Just before the Republican caucus Ex-Gov Guild who had been urged to enter the contest declined to do so and said he favored the re-election of Senator Lodge. At the caucus most of Guild's friends went over to Lodge. Speaker Walker kept his promise to nominate Senator Lodge in the caucus.

When the Democrats held their caucus, Sherman L. Whipple of Brookline, classmate of William Howard Taft, Republican President of the United States, received their nomination for United States Senator on the fifth ballot. Mr. Whipple was regarded as the personal choice of Gov Foss. His boom was sprung by those closely affiliated with the political fortunes of the Governor and by considerable quiet lobbying during the previous week the Governor's friends succeeded in nominating Mr. Whiple. Mr. Whipple was comparatively a new man in State politics. John R. Thayer led all competitors up to the fourth ballot. On the fifth his vote dwindled to almost one half of Whipple's and the latter had eight more than enough to nominate. The fifth ballot resulted as follows: Whole number of votes cast: 111; necessary for a choice: 56; Whipple 64; Thayer 34; O'Connell 11; Gov Foss 2.

Senator Roger Sherman Hoar of Concord tried to interest the caucus in a scheme for a special election to ascertain the choice of the people on the Senatorship, but no action was taken. He asked all those present to be on hand at the hearing on the proposed bill promised by the Committee on Elections for the purpose of urging a favorable report on it.

There was suppressed excitement in and about the State House on the afternoon of Jan 17 when both branches were to take their first vote on the Senatorship. The Lodge men had plugged every hole on the Republican side of the fence and were ready for the opposition. Every seat in the galleries of both Houses was taken and the floor looked like inauguration day with its crowded aisles, filled with friends of the candidates interested in the outcome. The vote of both branches was as follows:

Senate: Number of votes cast, 40; necessary for choice, 21; Lodge 24 ; Whipple 14; Ames 2; House: Number of votes cast, 239; necessary for choice, 120; Lodge 117; Whipple 109; Ames 6; Walker 4; Guild 1; Thayer 1; McBride 1.

Lodge received the largest number of votes but lacked three of a majority, making a ballot necessary in joint convention next day. Immediately after the voting, Speaker Walker sent a letter to the four men who had balloted for him, saying that while he appreciated the honor he must protest and asked them not to vote for him at the joint convention. The result of the first day's balloting indicated that Mr. Lodge would be elected at the joint convention of both Houses by at least one vote. He did even better and was re-elected for his fourth term with five votes to spare. The joint ballot for Senator was as follows:

Lodge	146
Whipple	121
Ames	7
Lowell	2
Thayer	1
McBride	1
Guild	1

In balloting in the joint convention, two Democratic Senators, Michael J. Murray and Martin P. F. Curley of Boston, shifted their votes from Whipple to Lodge. Representative Arkwell of Worcester who voted for Speaker Walker the day before changed his vote to Lodge. One of Ames' men, Kil-

patrick of Lowell, also voted for Lodge. Representative Greenwood of Everett who voted for Speaker Walker the day previous did not respond when his name was first called but before the conclusion of the calling of the roll he voted for Lodge.

The other Walker men changed to Pres Lowell of Harvard who received two votes for Senator. Cogswell of Lynn cast his vote for Curtis Guild Jr as he did on the first ballot. The only absentee was James H. McInerney, Democrat, of Boston.

Soon after Mr. Lodge's Symphony Hall speech he left for Washington and committed the care of his interests to his friends in the Legislature. His son-in-law, Congressman Gardner remained to direct the fight. On hearing of his re-election Mr. Lodge expressed his gratitude, saying:

"I am very, very grateful to the legislators of Massachusetts and to the people of the Commonwealth, whom they represent, for the signal honor they have conferred upon me for a fourth time to the Senate of the United States. I am deeply indebted to those newspapers in Boston which have earnestly and ably sustained me, and to the press of the State almost without exception for the powerful and convincing support it has so generously given to me.

"To the Republicans of the State and of the Legislature, I wish to express my gratitude which is heartfelt for the unwavering support they have given me, a support which I trust may not be unserviceable to the great party in whose principles we all alike believe.

"I am deeply grateful to my friends, both in the Legislature and outside it, who have labored for me with a loyalty, a devotion and a complete disinterestedness which I have never seen equalled. I cannot find words adequately to express my sense of gratitude for such devotion and loyalty. I can only hope that my friends who have so labored for me will all realize what I feel, how heartfelt are my thanks, and I trust that I may be able to repay them by service to the country and to the State which they will deem worthy of a Senator from Massachusetts."

Nahant had a celebration over the re-election of its distinguished citizen. The Senator was deeply touched by the demonstration in his old home town. It was a proud moment for the senior Senator when he was sworn in for another six years service. His election was a knockout blow for Gov Foss who begrudgingly signed his certificate of election. The two Democratic Senators who voted for him and the one Representative who remained away from the joint session were berated by the anti-Lodge press and accused of all sorts of political crimes. The Representative, it was claimed, had been the beneficiary of a favor at the hands of Senator Lodge some

years before; one of the Senators, it was claimed, hoped to receive some favors for a son in the navy, while the other, it was asserted, voted for Lodge because an old friend who had helped him many times asked him to do so. Not even Senator Lodge's bitterest political foes charged corruption or intimated that any questionable methods had been resorted to in the campaign. Senator Lodge's fourth re-election was a high tribute to the man and an appreciation of his worth as a Massachusetts representative in the upper branch of Congress.

CHAPTER XXXIV

CONTEST OVER SPEAKERSHIP OF THE HOUSE OF 1911—WALKER DEFEATS MARTIN M. LOMASNEY AFTER A SHARP FIGHT.

ORDINARILY the contest for Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives is a factional fight within the Republican ranks. The public service corporations make their influence felt and it is seldom that a man reaches that office who is not regarded by them as "safe and sane." Indeed there are cases where the corporations and some of the big banking houses of Boston have actually picked the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate and have lined up the votes for them. The corporations feel that they must protect their vested interests and guard against unjust laws from their standpoint. Having paved the way for the Speaker, the next thing is to see that the legislative committees which report on proposed legislation which affects them are not wholly unfriendly. The activities of the corporations begin at the start—the primaries—and their "grapevines" lead to every branch of the government.

For a generation or more, the Republicans never had to worry about the Speakership of the House. Republican after Republican succeeded Republicans in that office. It was a coveted place, a stepping stone to the Governorship. The election in 1910 gave the Republicans only a slim majority of the lower branch. In the organization of the House of 1911, the Democrats needed but nine more votes to control it and elect its officers. The lone Socialist would, in all probability, vote with them they reasoned. All that was necessary then was to ensnare eight Republicans. There were plenty of Republicans who didn't approve of Speaker Walker. He wobbled too much politically to suit them or else they were dissatisfied with his course as Speaker.

The Democrats had carefully scanned the situation and it was given out at headquarters that Representative Martin M. Lomasney of Boston would be a candidate for Speaker. Mr. Lomasney didn't say so but his friends declared that they

felt sure that they would be able to capture enough Republican votes to land him in the Speaker's chair if the Democrats would line up solidly for him. There was the rub. Lomasney, a rough-and-tumble political fighter, had many enemies in his own party and they began to busy themselves against him. For years Lomasney had been regarded as one of the most forceful men in the Legislature. In his long political career he had made many influential friends among the Republicans some of whom winked at his aspirations to preside over the House.

Walker and his friends began to get uneasy. Open war on Lomasney was decided upon. At a meeting of some of Speaker Walker's supporters it was decided that the Speaker should sound the alarm. In an address to the public Mr. Walker said:

"I feel that it is important that the people of Massachusetts clearly understand the political situation in this Commonwealth, as it relates to the House of Representatives which will convene on Jan 4 next.

"In the House there will be 127 Republicans, 112 Democrats and one Socialist. The membership of the House is 240. If all members are present it will require 121 votes to elect a speaker. If the Democrats and the Socialist vote unitedly for a Democratic candidate it will be necessary for that candidate to get but eight Republican votes to make him Speaker of the House.

"There is a serious and determined effort on the part of the Boston Democracy to get possession of the House. Their candidate will be Martin M. Lomasney of Ward 8, Boston. I am informed that Mr. Lomasney is claiming that he has enough votes to elect him Speaker. I do not believe it but that the situation is serious cannot be denied.

"If Republicans are absent from the House when the House convenes at 11 o'clock on Wednesday, Jan. 4, or if the Republicans allow their votes for Speaker to be split, the situation becomes still more serious. A strenuous effort is being made to induce some Republicans to be absent and to induce other Republicans to vote for some one other than the Republican nominee for Speaker.

"Every possible wire is being pulled on the quiet to bring about this result. The fight is being waged not simply to turn over a Republican House to the Democrats, but to turn it over to the Boston Democratic machine for their own purpose."

There was one Democratic stumbling block in Mr. Lomasney's way. Representative Charles F. McCarthy of Marlboro was a candidate for the nomination. The leaders of the Democratic legislative forces stacked the cards against McCarthy and he was denounced as a traitor. Other Democratic members were suspected and accused of treachery. New Year's day, McCarthy announced that he was willing to meet

Lomasney for a show down of strength, adding that if the latter could show him that he had the most votes he would quit. Lomasney had the most votes and McCarthy acknowledged it. By a vote of 78 to 4 the Democratic caucus of the House members nominated Lomasney over McCarthy and the latter made the selection unanimous.

The Republicans of the House caucused the morning of the day of the convening of the Legislature. After Speaker Walker had been renominated, Mr. Cushing of Boston moved that the caucus favor an open ballot for Speaker. He said he had seen by the papers that 25 Republicans would vote for the Democratic candidate for Speaker. "I for one do not wish to be exposed to any suspicion of disloyalty," he said. "I wish to have it known how I vote and I think every man in this room wishes it."

"I would personally trust every man in the room to the last ditch," said Speaker Walker. "I haven't asked for an open ballot but I am willing to take the decision of the House. The people have a right to know how we act in this matter. It has been the custom in Massachusetts to have a secret ballot, but it was because there has never been a contest like this one. The Speaker of the National House is elected on an open ballot and is the custom in other paliamentary bodies. I believe I have as many personal friends in the Democratic party as my friend Lomasney has in the Republican party. We have a rule that a roll call may be demanded at any time in order that members may have a vote on record when they deem it advisable. I am willing to leave it entirely in your hands and in the hands of the House."

Mr. White of Brookline said he was surprised that the House hadn't always had an open ballot. "This is no time for cowards in the Republican party. Any man who won't stand up and tell the State whom he wants for Speaker should leave the Republican party," said Mr. White. The motion was then carried by a unanimous vote of 124 members.

When the House met the fight to make Lomasney Speaker began before Gov Draper had left the rostrum, after swearing in the members. Representative Reidy of Boston, a Democrat, jumped to his feet and addressed the presiding officer but the chair refused to give his attention to any one while the official party was filing out of the chamber. While they were passing up the aisle, Representative Underhill, of Somerville, advanced to the clerk's desk and handed him a motion that the rules of last year year be adopted.

Fighting began at once. Representative Washburn of

Worcester offered a motion which precipitated the battle of the day. He moved that the House proceed to the election of a Speaker and that each Representative as his name was called by the clerk should rise in his seat and announce his choice for Speaker.

Representative Lomasney immediately raised a point of order that this motion was not in order, under the provision of rule 8 of the House of the year before, which read as follows:

"In cse of a vacancy in the office of Speaker or in case the Speaker or the member named by him in accordance with the preceding rule (to preside over the House) is absent at the hour to which the House stands adjourned, the senior member present shall call the House to order and shall preside until a Speaker pro tempore or a Speaker is elected by ballot, which shall be the first business in order."

Representative Eames, the presiding officer, by reason of seniority, ruled that the point of order was not well taken as this rule applied only in cases when a permanent Speaker had been chosen and is absent.

Representative Lomasney appealed from the decision of the chair, and after a long debate the House voted to sustain the chair by a vote of 125 to 109. In appealing from the decision of the chair, Mr. Lomasney said:

"For the first time in 132 years, the order of things in the House is about to be changed. This is because certain men in the House presume to put themselves above their fellows; they presume to doubt the integrity of the word of some of their associates. This change is not because of any public demand, but because the Speaker last Sunday appealed to the Republicans to come and save him.

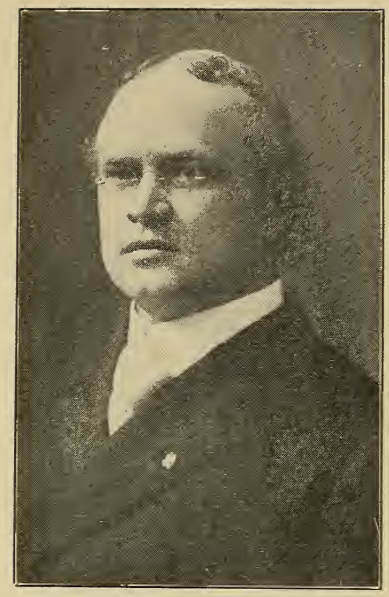
"Why does he change now? For two years he has sat in that chair and by his fair and manly course has won the approbation of all. Why does he change Because of his friends I am told. I say, God save him from his friends. I will call to your attention a similar incident in 1880, when we had a somewhat similar contest.

"There were three candidates then. Our rules distinctly state that the Speaker shall be elected by ballot and that probably escaped the notice of the gentleman from Somerville (Mr. Underhill). He shakes his head and smiles; so much the worse.

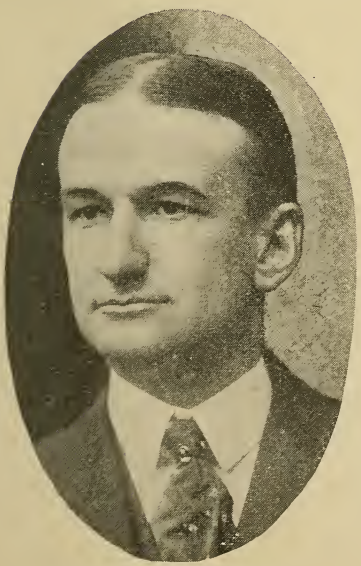
"When he found us supporting his order, if he was a fair man and a square man, he would act differently. We are now sworn in and all our acts can be tested in the courts. I make this offer that the gentleman from Somerville again offer his order and let us have a clean vote upon it."

Representative Washburn of Worcester, answering the speech of Mr. Lomasney said that any one would well hesitate in crossing swords with the unique figure whose work in the Legislature and the politics of Boston and the State was so

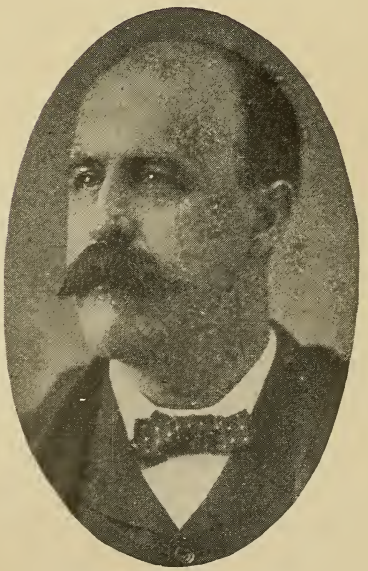
Thomas F. Cassidy.



Allen T. Treadway.



Robert M. Washburn.



Martin M. Lomasney.

well known. "His purity," said Mr. Washburn, "which he has likened to the snow on the hilltops of the State, is I fear, also like the snow in that it melts with the first rain. I trust the House will uphold the ruling of the chair."

Although he made a gallant fight for the Speakership, Lomasney was unable to hold the Democratic vote and the promised support from dissatisfied Republicans did not materialize. Joseph Walker was elected Speaker for the third time. The open ballot probably saved him. The vote for Speaker on the open ballot was:

Whole number of votes cast, 233; necessary for a choice, 117; Joseph Walker 130; Martin M. Lomasney 99; Charles F. McCarthy 4.

Five Democrats voted for Walker and four voted for Charles F. McCarthy of Marlboro. Those voting for Walker were: O'Hearn of Framingham, Bartlett of Plymouth, Dwyer of Weymouth, Parker of Woburn, and Pope of Leominster.

In the Senate President Treadway was again re-elected. The 14 Democratic members of the Senate voted for Senator John F. Malley of Springfield for President.

CHAPTER XXXV

GOV FOSS' FIRST ADMINISTRATION—HIS RADICAL INAUGURAL—FRICTION BETWEEN EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENTS—SPIRITED CONTEST OVER ELECTION OF SECRETARY OF STATE—SENATOR WHITE CHOSEN AUDITOR—LONGEST LEGISLATIVE SESSION ON RECORD—TECH'S MILLION.

EUGENE Noble Foss began the first of his three terms as Governor Jan. 5, 1911. Five years had passed since the Democrats had witnessed the inauguration of a Governor of their party. They made the most of the occasion. Two thousand invitations to be present at the inaugural ceremonies were issued. Judging by the size of the crowd at the State House none of the invitations went astray in the mails.

The House galleries were packed. Every inch of space in the chamber where the exercises took place was occupied by the friends and admirers of the new Chief Executive. Prominent Democrats, unable to obtain seats, stood in the main aisle to witness the ceremony of inaugurating the 45th Governor under the Constitution, to hear him read his inaugural and to test the sincerity of his newly professed political faith.

There was a good representation of the Judges of the Supreme and Superior Courts present and three ex-Governors, J. Q. A. Brackett, Curtis Guild Jr, and John L. Bates, added further dignity to the occasion, while representatives of foreign governments occupied seats of honor in the body of the House.

The Governor's wife and two daughters, his father and mother, George E. Foss of Chicago, Republican Congressman from the 10th Illinois district, the Governor-elect's brother, and other relatives of the Foss family, and a half hundred close personal and political friends occupied seats in the Speaker's gallery.

It was a great day for the Foss family. The oath of office was administered by President Treadway of the Senate at 12.20 P M and thenceforth for three years, Mr. Foss kept politicians, office holders and the public guessing what his

next move would be. He got a lot of fun out of the Governorship. He offended many who believed that a certain amount of dignity went with the office.

Following Gov Foss t[h]ree years in his political gyrations requires an agile mind. At times it is tiresome, especially if one thinks one's self detecting a lack of sincerity in the actions of the Chief Executive of the State. He played politics in almost everything. The ease with which Mr. Foss could change his political coat was exceeded only by his ability to escape from a compromising position. His critics termed him the political Hudini. This doubtful compliment he seemed to enjoy.

The main points of his inaugural may be summarized as follows:

Abolish the boss, the caucus, the nominating convention; in fact, all political machinery."

He declared for the initiative, the referendum and the recall.

Labor's rights must be recognized and the workmen exempted from unfair injunction proceedings.

Declared for a workingmen's compensation act.

He demanded the immediate installation of vocational and trade schools.

He asked for legislation with a view to bring trunk lines of railroads of this country and Canada to our ports, the development of the Port of Boston by co-operation of the State and city in ownership of docks and terminals, and a system of waterways and canals to supplement railroads.

He denounced Holding companies, and cited the Boston Holding company as an example; quasi-public, or public-service corporations desiring anything from the Legislature should put their case before the public itself.

That delays in the courts may be avoided, he recommended an increase in the number of Justices of the Superior Court. Recommended that the salaries of Justices of the Supreme and Superior Courts be increased.

He called for a State Finance Commission to oversee the business methods of the various State and county departments, and, when occasion demanded, city and town governments.

On business principles he was opposed to commissions, and advised abolition of the Railroad, Gas and Electric Light, Boston Transit and the Highway Commissions, and in their place, to exercise all their functions, the creation of a Public Utilities Board, to be composed of five members, with terms of 10 years each, any member subject to recall at any State election.

He declared for the creation of a Greater Boston by a commercial and political unions, on the borough system, of all the cities and towns within a radius of 10 miles, every city and town to preserve its autonomy, individuality and historic interest. He committed himself unreservedly to the principle of home rule for cities.

He denounced the use of money in elections. Carriages needed to take infirm voters to the polls should be paid by the State; election warden should have power to issue warrant and bring to polls

able bodied citizens who neglect to cast ballot. State should provide political parties with halls in which to hold rallies in State elections, and provide candidates with circulars in which they can give their arguments.

He demanded legislation for the direct nomination of United States Senators by the people, and confidently expected the Legislature to elect, irrespective of party, a successor to Mr. Lodge who would "represent the progressive platform for which the majority of the people voted."

He recommended that in redistricting the State as demanded by Federal law, no consideration should be given to partisan schemes but that every district should be laid out on geometrical lines of latitude and longitude by State engineers.

He interpreted the verdict at the last election, as a demand that duties be removed from all food products, raw materials be placed on free list, and substantial reductions be made on manufactured goods; that the Federal Government reduce United States duties to a level with those of Canada, and then seek further reciprocal trade relations with her and other countries.

Massachusetts should aid the Federal Government in levying an income tax.

He gave the Legislature plenty to think about. One of the first things Gov Foss did was to consult the Attorney General concerning a special election in the Cape Congression District which he represented until he was sworn in as Governor. Judge Harris, of Bridgewater, had been elected for the long term, but there remained only a few weeks more of Foss' term prior to the passing of the 61st Congress. Atty Gen Malone decided that it would be impossible to hold an election under the laws before Congress adjourned and so no precept for an election was issued.

Speaker Walker began early in the session to manifest Progressive predelictions. He introduced a direct nomination bill for Governor and other State officers. It was interpreted as a notice to the Republicans that he was in a receptive state of mind on the Governorship.

Gov Foss had been in office hardly two weeks when Judge Harris of the Superior Court resigned to take effect March 1 when he was to assume his duties as Congressman from the 14th district succeeding Foss. Judge Bond of the same court had just died and Mr. Foss began his great record as a judge maker which has never been equalled by any other Governor in the past 25 years in point of the number of appointees to the bench.

In accordance with his announced policy of "persistent, pitiless publicity" Gov Foss broke all precedents and gave

out a list of names submitted to him for two justices of the Superior Court. No other Governor had done such a thing and it created a mild sensation in legal and political circles.

After a brief delay he named Joseph F. Quinn of Salem and John D. McLaughlin, Assistant Corporation Counsel of Boston to the two vacancies. Both were promptly confirmed. He never published any more lists of candidates for any office and like most of those who shout the loudest for publicity in public affairs he soon became as exclusive and as uncommunicative as an old fashioned politician who delights surprising the public in his selection of public officials.

The Legislature was called upon during the session to fill two important State offices. William M. Olin, Secretary of State and Henry E. Turner, State Auditor died. Under the law the Legislature elected their successors to fill out their unexpired terms. The contest over the Secretaryship which was the first to be filled was bitter and partizan.

Death claimed Col William M. Olin, Secretary of State, in the middle of the session. The Legislature took appropriate action and recorded its appreciation of the long and faithful services of the popular and efficient State official. Funeral services were held at his home. The body was taken to the State House where it lay in State in the Hall of Flags. Every mark of respect was shown the late Secretary of State by his G A R comrades, the Governor, State officials, and members of the Legislature.

The flowers over the newly made grave of Sec Olin were hardly wilted before the fight began over his successor. The Legislature filled the vacancy by electing Representative Albert P. Langtry of Springfield. The Democrats voted for Frank J. Donahue. The vote was: Langtry 151; Donahue 123; Sherman 1; Blank 1.

The election of Langtry required the most drastic and partisan measures witnessed in the Massachusetts Legislature in a generation. The Republican leaders realized that heroic treatment was necessary in Langtry's case. They were afraid that if they didn't compel their members to show their hands their chances for electing their candidate for Secretary of State would be jeopardized and they accordingly proceeded to put their steam roller into use.

Men who talked insurgency 24 hours before, voted like

regulars when the ballots were cast. It was apparent that the Republicans had whipped every man into line and that it was a straight out and out party fight, the moment Speaker Walker relinquished the chair and turned the gavel over to President Treadway of the Senate, when both branches of the Legislature convened and began the task of choosing Col Olin's successor.

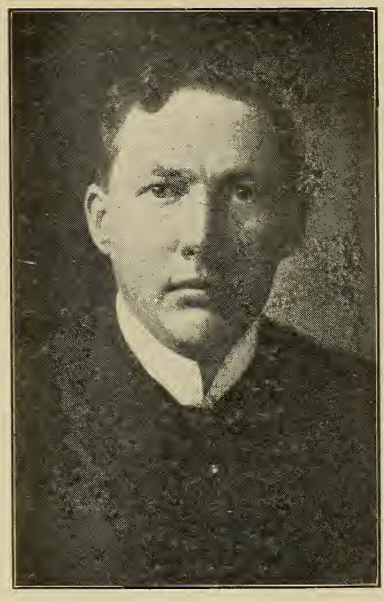
Speaker Walker who directed the Republican forces sounded the party call in the first notes of his speech. John F. Meany, of Blackstone, the temporary House Democratic leader, prompted and aided by Martin M. Lomasney, accepted the challenge, and from that moment the chances of electing a Democrat to succeed Col Olin vanished. It was just what the Republican leaders wanted. Up to that time they were in doubt, but never for a moment did they question their ability to control the convention after partisan politics had been injected into it. Speaker Walker, leaving the chair, took the floor and offered a motion for an open ballot for Secretary of State on the ground that the legislators were acting in a representative capacity and that the people had the right to know how they voted.

Representative Meaney of Blackstone moved to substitute a motion providing that each member of the convention, as his name was called, should deposit his ballot in a receptacle for the purpose. Speaking to his motion, he said:

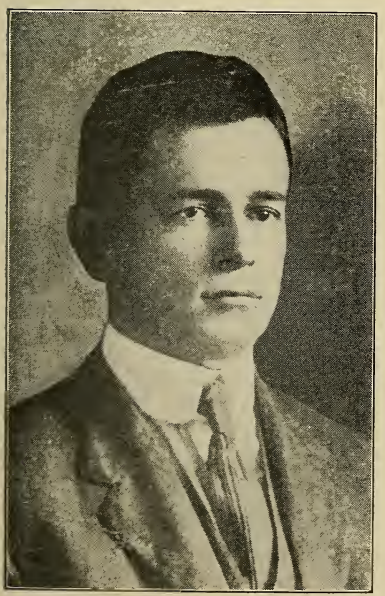
"This is a convention for the election of a Secretary of State, and not a caucus to advance the welfare of any poiltical party; I hope it will be conducted according to the Constitution of our own State and according to no other authority, not even that of the Constitution of the United States."

The Republicans followed their caucus vote, favored the open ballot and thus once more saved their candidate. The Republican caucus chose Senator John E. White of the Cape over Elmer C. Potter as their candidate for State Auditor. White was one of the most popular members of the Legislature. He had personal friends in the Democratic party and the latter contented itself in his case in casting a perfunctory vote for its candidate, Representative Lincoln Breckinridge of North Adams at the joint convention. The Auditorship was filled in July towards the end of the session when everybody except the Governor was anxious for the Legislature to adjourn.

Eben S. S. Keith.



Alexander McGregor.



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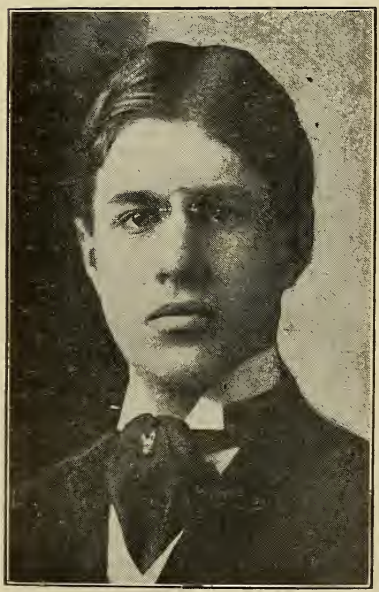


Roger Sherman Hoar.

William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic National leader visited Boston early in March and was the guest of both branches of the Legislature. In the upper branch the Senators rose to receive him as he entered the chamber and in the House the applause that followed his speech continued through his leave taking until he had passed out of the hall. Before he left the State House Mr. Bryan pronounced Gov Foss the "hottest thing in the Progressive line" that he had run across in the East.

The session of 1911 was the longest in the history of the State, exceeding the Butler year of 1883 when the Legislature was in session 203 calendar days. The session of 1911 occupied 206 calendar days, being prorogued at 6.59 P. M., Friday, July 28. 719 acts and 153 resolves were passed.

Several times the legislators manifested a desire to be prorogued. Republicans and a few Democrats treated with scorn many of the Governor's suggestions for legislation. His official message writer kept the Sergeant-at-Arms busy, trotting back and forth to the Executive Department, doing escort duty for the Governor's veto and message bearer. On several occasions when messages were announced "from His Excellency," the announcement was received with derisive laughter and at times Democrats vied with Republicans in putting the measures over the Governor's veto.

Acts of discourtesy and even open insult did not bother Governor Foss. Towards the end of the session he openly defied the members of the Legislature and bade them go on with their opposition. In the middle of July, while the House was discussing his veto of the increase of their salaries from $750 a year to $1000, the 78th message from the Governor arrived and for the first time in the memory of the oldest attache of the House, a message from the Governor of the State was received with groans, cat calls, hisses and unprintable remarks by the Representatives. In an interview in the Boston Globe, Gov Foss thus commented on the attitude of the Legislature towards him:

"This fight for right legislation has hardly begun yet. It's only in its infancy. Let them come on. They'll find me ready any time they want to start in.

"I've been hearing from the people and I know they have a pretty good idea of the situation at the State House.

"If the Legislature of Massachusetts wants to go before the people of the State on its record and mine, I'm ready. Let them start at once and they'll find me right on the job all the time.

"I shall be at the State House tomorrow, the next day and all next week. If the Legislature thinks that they are through with the people and with me, they'll find out before long that they are slightly mistaken.

"I was elected on a platform that promised certain specific things to the people of the State and I propose so far as I am personally able, assisted by the powers conferred upon me by the Constitution, to see to it that those pledges made on every platform from which I spoke are redeemed.

"A recreant Legislature has no terrors for me. The fight is on and they'll find me standing where I stood nine months ago when I promised, if elected, to give the State a business-like administration in the interest of all the people.

"My nomination papers have been taken out. I am a candidate for re-election. That's my answer to the Legislature."

The newspaper men had come to refer to the Governor as the "Old Boy." The nickname stuck to him through his three terms. It was a favorite term of his own. He frequently used it in chats with newspaper men and others. The Constitution gives the Governor the right with the advice and consent of the Council to prorogue the Legislature and unless he consents to adjournment it must remain in session. Under the law the Legislature cannot adjourn itself over more than two legislative days. The Governor had the whip hand in this case.

Local history does not record an instance of a Massachusetts Legislature turning on the Chief Executive of the Commonwealth as it did on Governor Foss when the Senate, without the semblance of debate, passed over his veto two bills in succession by a vote of 28 to 0.

The position of the House was as emphatic and pronounced as that of the Senate. The leaders of the Governor's own party, with few exceptions, appeared to be more vindicative than the Republicans. Leader Lomasney of the Democrats in the House mildly rebuked Leader Underhill of the Republicans for his language in reference to the Governor's message under discussion, but the same Democratic leader cast his vote with those who disagreed with His Excellency and voted to pass the measures over the Governor's veto.

The following day the House outdid the Senate by passing over the Governor's veto the bill for pensions of members of the State police, putting them on the same basis as that of the Boston police. Having done this the same body proceeded to pass over his veto the bill to increase the salary of the members of the Legislature from $750 to $1000. It also passed over the Governor's veto, the bill to establish minimum sala-

ries of judges and registrars of probate. Lack of co-operation between the Legislative and Executive departments is not conducive to the best results in law making. During the entire session of the Legislature, the State departments and the Legislature were kept in a turmoil. There was politics on the Republican side as well as on the Democratic side. Not much of Gov Foss' ambitious Legislative program was enacted into law in the form he demanded it. One of the last acts of the Democratic members was to name a Legislative committee to stir up interest in the Fall contests for Legislative seats and the conference, which chose the committee, sullenly endorsed Gov Foss for re-election.

January 25th, Gov Foss sent a special message to the Legislature asking for authority to investigate all departments before he made up the budget. The Ways and Means committee, to which the request was referred, reported and the investigation proceeded after the Foss fashion. Economy and efficiency experts were employed at high salaries and they began their work. Norman H. White of Brookline, chairman of the House Ways and Means committee objected to their methods and claimed that the Executive was usurping the powers of the House, but the investigation went on and their reports were spasmodically made public by the Governor. Some of the State department heads objected to the acts of the experts and denounced their reports, notably State Treasurer Stevens, who vehemently asserted that the experts had misrepresented things in his department. The upshot of the experts' investigation was a demand by the Governor for the creation of a State Finance Commission which would superintend all public expenditures of the Commonwealth, but the Legislature refused to authorize the establishment of such a department.

The Governor did get through his Port Directors bill and an appropriation of $9,000,000 for harbor development of Boston. At the head of this commission he named Hugh Bancroft. From this apropriation was built the great Commonwealth Dock headhouse and the locality improved, but the wisdom of such a large outlay of public money has been seriously questioned since competent experts declare that the State has a "white elephant" on its hands. The Port Directors also purchased East Boston water front property

which, when improved ought to enhance the value of the East Boston Land Co.'s holdings owned largely by Gov Foss.

One of the commendable pieces of legislation passed, was the Cavanagh Loan Shark bill, regulating through a State Commissioner named by the Governor, the small loan business which had preyed upon poor people and charged them excessive interest on loans. The legislation didn't accomplish all that it was hoped it would but it brought the loan sharks under State control.

Labor didn't get all it expected. The Governor signed the 54 hour bill under pressure but he vetoed the Peaceful Picketing bill. The Senate killed the Public Opinion bill. A new Corrupt Practices bill became a law limiting the amount of money a candidate may spend in the primaries for a nomination and at the polls election day.

Taxation was a question close to Gov Foss' heart and he wrote and talked much about it. Prof Bullock of Harvard was employed to advise the Governor on the question, but the average Legislator knows little about such an intricate problem and they viewed with suspicion Foss' attitude on the question believing that his scheme favored the man of wealth and they turned down his tax reform scheme.

He gave his approval to the legislative invitation to the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada to build a line to Boston and demanded the repeal of the Railroad Holding measure, whereby the New Haven held control of the Boston and Maine R. R. The latter demand was not granted. The Institute of Technology was given a $1,000,000 grant and in signing the bill, Gov. Foss said that the understanding was, that it should be the last State aid the institution would ask of the Commonwealth. The House killed a Sunday baseball bill. The Senate also killed what was known as the Lifting Jack bill, which would compel railways to carry lifting jacks on every car.

For years the proposition to erect a statue to Gen Butler had been coming before the Legislature. There was always violent opposition to it from certain elements. As a rule, the Democrats generally favored the idea. This year the committee on State House grounds reported favorably for an appropriation, but the bill didn't reach the Executive Department.

The bill forbidding Chinese keeping restaurants was de-

clared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and the attempt to pass such a law was abandoned. The attempt to amend the Boston charter was beaten. The annexation of Hyde Park to Boston was authorized and a referendum attached, submitting the proposition to both Hyde Park and Boston voters. Woman Suffrage was beaten by a vote of 161 to 69 in the House and in the Senate by a vote of 31 to 6. The House went on record by a vote of 170 to 37 favoring the direct election of United States Senators by the people, but the Senate on a close vote killed the proposition.

Gov Foss' first veto was negatived in the House by a vote of 155 to 51. The bill provided that applicants under the Civil Service law should not be compelled to set out in their application blanks offenses committed before they were 16 years of age. Although the persistent rumor was that the Governor would veto the Veterans' retirement bill, whereby veterans in the service of the City of Boston might be retired on half pay, he signed it after a conference with Representative Lomasney, one of its advocates.

The liquor people made a determined fight in the Legislature to repeal the Bar and Bottle bill but were unsuccessful. The House ratified the amendment to the U S Constitution on the income tax. The Senate rejected, but the following year both branches accepted it and thus closed a question which had agitated the Legislature for several years.

His veto of the Boston elementary school teachers increase of salary brought down a storm of abuse on his head and the advocates of the measure were unable to put it over his veto. Gov Foss took the ground that it was a question for the Boston School Board to determine, rather than the Legislature, the same position he took on the bill lowering the height of members of the Boston Fire Department, saying that the city authorities should regulate that question.

As the session was nearing its end, Gov Foss sent a communication to the Legislature demanding an investigation of the business methods of the United Shoe Machinery Co. but the Legislature sent word back that there was law enough if an investigation were needed. The term of office of Police Commissioner O'Meara of Boston expired. As usual, the Governor kept everybody guessing. Democratic politicians wanted O'Meara turned down, but on May 30 the Governor sent O'Meara's name to the Executive Council for an-

other term of five years. The nomination was confirmed under a suspension of the rules. For months the Governor had been "jollying" two old neighbors, telling them that they were the kind of men he wanted for Police Commissioner. He was in the habit of walking from his home in Jamaica Plain to the State House fine mornings. One of the applicants he disposed of after a brisk walk up Beacon Hill. The prospective police commissioner was obliged to lean against the embankment at the State House grounds, to get his breath before essaying to run up the steps after His Excellency. Whereupon, the Governor informed him that, as a policeman should be long-winded, he would not do. The other victim of his cruel hoax was told the day of the nomination, to go down to Newspaper Row at 3 P M and there he would learn something that would "please him." He did so, and shortly after 3 P M the newspaper bulletin boards announced, in big letters, the reappointment and confirmation of O'Meara.

CHAPTER XXXVI

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1911—JUDICIAL AND OTHER APPOINTMENTS BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE BATTLE FOR FOSS' RE-ELECTION—CONTEST FOR REPUBLICAN GUBERNATORIAL NOMINATION WON BY FROTHINGHAM—FOSS RE-ELECTED.

ENOUGH votes had been cast for Foss as a Progressive in the last State election to constitute a political party within the meaning of the law and the Governor was in a position to hold that over the heads of the Democrats, in case they should seriously consider turning him down as the Democratic gubernatorial candidate. There had been threats of that nature but they vanished after his endorsement by the Democratic legislators. The Governor had been so busy with legislation and investigations that he had neglected to fill more that a score of good paying positions, which the Democrats coveted. He kept dangling these plums before his new party associates. As the primaries approached, he shook the plum tree gently. A running mate must be chosen for Foss. Several names were suggested but as usual, Foss put it off until the last moment, when David I. Walsh of Fitchburg, was agreed upon. Thomas F. Cassidy last year's candidate, declined to run again. He didn't like the way Foss treated him.

Early in August, Chief Justice Knowlton of the Supreme Court asked to be retired because of an affection of the eyes. In his place Judge Rugg of the same Court was appointed. Four Superior Court judges were named that month, all on one day.—Patrick M. Keating of Boston, John B. Ratigan, Worcester, Democrats and Walter Perley Hall, Fitchburg and Hugo A. Dubuque, Fall River, Republicans. Hall had been a member of the Railroad Commission. His place was given to Frederick J. Macleod, chairman Democratic State Committee, who desired a judgeship, but the "Old Boy" decided Macleod's experience at the bar had not been extensive enough. The vacancy on the Supreme Judicial Court was filled by the promotion of Judge Charles A. DeCourcey of the Superior Court.

Asa R. Minard, a Foss boomer, named as Small Loan Commissioner, was rejected by the Council and for months that office was vacant until finally, the Council confirmed E. Gerry Brown of Brockton. Other smaller plums were handed to the faithful by the Governor. He did not forget his old Republican friends.

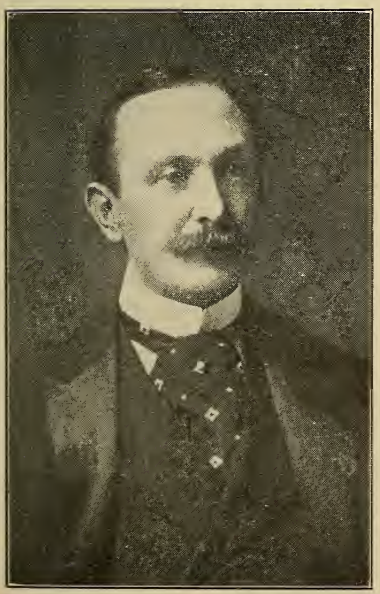
The Republicans had a three cornered fight for Governor—Lieut Gov Frothingham, Speaker Walker and Norman H. White being the candidates. They all took a whack occasionally at the "Old Boy." Frothingham's opponents charged that he was the machine candidate, but Frothingham won and his nearest opponent in the race, Joseph Walker, immediately proferred him his support and subscribed a handsome sum to the campaign fund. The third man in the contest, Norman H. White, was not so demonstrative in his loyalty to the party candidate. Robert Luce of Somerville, was the choice for Lieutenant Governor.

The Suffragists decided to put all candidates on record regarding equal suffrage. A big touring car filled with well known Suffragettes trailed Candidate Frothingham through Berkshire County. At Stockbridge, Miss Margaret Foley, standing in the tonneau of the car, asked Mr. Frothingham if he was in favor of woman suffrage. Mr. Frothingham replied that it was a constitutional question with which the Governor had nothing to do. Miss Foley harangued the crowd saying that Frothingham's record was 100% bad. Miss Foley and her associates kept up their heckling of the candidate at the various stops and made speeches to the street crowds. The Republican State Committee and the City and Town committees all worked hard to get out the vote for their ticket this year, but the tide was still against them.

The Democratic State ticket was agreed upon in advance of the primary. George Fred Williams, who had not yet broken with Foss, was selected to write the platform. The State Convention was held at Faneuil Hall. It was a Democratic love feast. Sherman Whipple presided and delivered a good natured speech containing many sharp thrusts at the Republicans. Mr. Whipple's reference to Gov Foss' judicial appointments to the higher courts and his tribute to the Governor's painstaking care in the selection of the judges evoked the liveliest enthusiasm, which was prolonged for several

Louis A. Coolidge.

John F. Malley.



August Belmont.

Grafton D. Cushing.

moments. Mr. Whipple was one of Gov Foss' consultors on Judicial appointments. The delegates howled with delight as Mr. Whipple described the Republican candidate as a young man of pleasing personality, but who was, nevertheless, "the representative of the special interests." When he got to his word picture of Senators Lodge and Crane, Mr. Whipple fairly shook with laughter. "Senator Lodge, he of the silver tongue, and Senator Crane, he of the golden tongue—Senator Lodge whose speech is silver and Senator Crane whose silence is golden," struck the delegates as being good, and they sat back in their chairs and chuckled to their heart's content. Mr. Whipple indulged in more good natured criticisms of Senator Crane to the delight of the delegates. He asked the delegates if they had seen the snapshot picture of Senator Lodge and the Treasurer of the United States Machinery Company, reading the bulletin in front of the Globe Building the day following the Republican primaries.

Shoe?

This reference called forth more laughter. He neglected to explain that the Treasurer of the Shoe Machinery Co., Louis A. Coolidge, had been Mr. Lodge's private secretary at one time and that the two were friends of many years standing. But Mr. Whipple was not counsel for the defense in this case. Why should he explain? Acting on the belief that everything is fair in love and politics, the astute Mr. Whipple made the most of the incident for the purpose of conveying the impression that Senator Lodge was in some mysterious way connected with the Shoe Machinery Co.

Louis A. Coolidge had been a prominent figure in Washington newspaper and official life for many years. He left the employ of Senator Lodge to become the Washington correspondent of the Boston Journal. For some years he was also the representative of the Springfield Republican at the National Capital. In Washington he made friends among the big men of both parties. His popularity with his fellow correspondents was shown by his election as President of the Gridiron Club, a famous organization of Washington correspondents. In more than one National campaign he had directed the publicity work of the Republican National Committee and President Roosevelt appointed him Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. He resigned this position to become the Treasurer of the United Shoe Machinery Co, one of the largest industrial enterprises in Massachusetts.

Representative Meany of Blackstone, the temporary presiding officer of the convention was the Governor's personal representative on the floor of the House during the legislative session. He told what the Democrats had succeeded in doing in the session, saying:

"The Legislature of 1911, responsive to the inaugural recommendations of the Governor, gave to the cause of labor greater impetus than it has received in a score of years. The Eight Hour Bill, twice wrung from unwilling Legislatures only to be vetoed by a Republican Governor, now vitalizes and makes effective a law which had been more recognized in the breach than in the observance.

"The 54 hour bill, for women and minors sought for by the workers for a long period of years, supported by humanitarian organizations, denied by successive Legislatures, now gives to capital and labor alike a respite from agitation and places Massachusetts pre-eminent among the States in labor legislation.

"The Unions Fines and the Hoar Jury Trial Acts give an added measure to legitimate protection to the worker; and the Workmen's Compensation law, forced to enactment this year by Democratic insistence, is one of the most important pieces of legislation upon the books.

"The great industry of agriculture, once the mainstay of the Commonwealth, was protected against unfair and ruin-bearing legislation in Gov. Foss's veto of the Ellis Milk bill."

Gov Foss appeared and read a speech in which he said he welcomed the injection of the tariff in the fight.

"The Republican party is without a leader or a definite tariff policy," said Gov Foss. "The chief contribution of the Republican party to the industrial situation in the past four years has been agitation. During that time business activity has been discouraged and values have shrunk.

"From Jan 8, 1910 to Sept. 26, 1911, there was a shrinkage in the market value of 20 standard railroad and industrial stocks of about $886,000,000. Whatever the cause of this shrinkage, it certainly cannot be laid to the door of the Democratic party. It is the Republican party that has been charged with, and has actually prevented, the restoration of confidence in the business world. And the Republican managers in this Commonwealth not only have forsworn leadership out of the darkness, but have actually closed the door against the light."

The platform praised the State administration and commended its judicial appointments. It demanded the abolition of party enrollment.

The Republican ticket had been nominated and their campaign was on. In the midst of the campaign, the Governor named Prof Garrett Droppers of Williams College to succeed Clinton White as Railroad Commissioner and Charles G. Wood of New Bedford a member of the State Board of Con-

ciliation and Arbitration. Droppers was rejected after the State election but Wood was confirmed. Among other appointments in the same batch were: Dr. L. Vernon Briggs of Boston, to succeed Henry P. Field of Northampton as a member of the State Board of Insanity.

The Governor also named Warren F. Spaulding of Cambridge, to succeed Fred G. Pettigrove, as chairman of the Board of Prison Commissioners, who was rejected, and Representative Arthur Bogue of Lynn as Register of Probate and Insolvency in Essex County as the successor of the late Jeremiah T. Mahoney of Salem. Dr. Henry P. Walcott of Cambridge was reappointed chairman of the Metropolitan Water and Sewerage Board.

The Governor also nominated for the second time for clerk of the Boston Juvenile Court, William L. Reed, the colored messenger at the Governor's office to succeed Clerk Williams another colored man, who was anti-Foss. Reed was rejected. Some time before he had named David Stoneman, a young Jewish lawyer, as Associate Justice of the Dorchester Municipal Court, and the Council rejected him. In the campaign, the Governor told the public of his troubles with the Council, declared it a relic of the past and asked the people to rebuke the Republican members who had opposed his nominations.

One of Gov Foss' campaign tricks was to charge the other side with high crimes and misdemeanors at the 11th hour. On November 3 he demanded a Grand Jury investigation of alleged violations of laws governing political campaign solicitations and alleged illegal political advertisements. Gov Foss sent to Dist Atty Pelletier a letter calling for prosecution of the Republican State Committee, Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt and other officers of The Outlook magazine, the two United States Senators from Massachusetts, the Republican candidate for Governor and officers of the United Shoe Machinery Co., of the American Woolen Co., and the Arkwright Club, charging them with illegal campaign contributions, but the District Attorney found nothing to prosecute after election. The Governor made a day's tour of the Cape all alone, the day before election, announced that he had spent $16,635 in his campaign and was back for a whirlwind tour of Boston that same night. His Democratic friends felt that it was time wasted to give a day to the few voters of the Cape and declined to go with him, preferring to devote the time to Greater Boston.

Foss was re-elected by nearly 9000 plurality, falling over 40,000 below his claim. Luce, Republican candidate for second place, was successful over Walsh, Democrat, by a little over 4000 votes. Mr. Luce was not in good favor with the liquor interests because of his temperance views and they worked hard to defeat him.

The House elected stood: Republican 142; Democrats 97; Socialist 1. The Senate: Republican 36; Democrats 14.

The vote for Governor and Lieutenant Governor was: Foss, Democrat, 214,897; Frothingham, Republican, 206,795; Cary, Socialist, 13,355; Lieutenant Governor: Luce, Republican, 204,489; Walsh, Democrat, 200,318; Hutchins, Socialist, 15,059.

Gov Foss was the first Democratic gubernatorial candidate to be re-elected since William E. Russell.

CHAPTER XXXVII

PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICANS ORGANIZE FOR PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1912—GOV FOSS' SECOND TERM—MORE RADICALISM IN HIS SECOND INAUGURAL—STUNG BY PRESIDENTIAL BEE—IMPEACHMENT TALK INDULGED IN—SOME OF THE IMPORTANT LEGISLATIVE ACTS.

THERE is little doubt that Gov Foss' judicial appointments contributed more to his re-election than any one factor in the campaign. For the first time in the history of the State the Democrats had been given anywhere near a fair representation on the judiciary. After election the Governor made three more appointments to the Superior Court. Nathan D. Pratt of Lowell was named to succeed the late Judge Richardson, Frederick H. Chase of Boston was appointed to succeed Judge DeCourcey promoted to the Supreme Court and Richard W. Irwin of Northampton was named to succeed Judge Serman, retired. The two former were Democrats and the latter a Republican.

Foss was hailed by some enthusiasts as a Presidential possibility. It was not long before there was evidence that the Presidential bee was buzzing in his bonnet. Later he became an avowed candidate for the Democratic nomination.

The Progressive Republican movement had begun to manifest itself in the State. Late in December they held a meeting in Tremont Temple, which was addressed by Gov Bass of New Hampshire and Ex-Congressman Record of New Jersey. A platform was adopted containing nine planks as follows:

1—Direct primaries for delegates to the National Convention, because of "our faith in the wisdom of the free opinion of the majority." We fear danger "from demagogues" less than that of being deceived "by selfish and corrupt party organizations."

2—Direct election of United States Senators.

3—Increase in the control of the people over their Legislatures, not to replace but to safeguard the system of representative government.

4—Strict enforcement of law relating to the employment of labor, especially that of women and children and the enactment of laws to provide for safety appliances and better sanitary conditions.

5—Rigid enforcement of the Pure Food laws, the elimination

from public service of those lax in the enforcement, and the enactment of such new legislation as may be necessary.

6—Conservation of natural resources, but against their monopolization.

7—Parcels post immediate installation under the National Government.

8—Downward revision of the tariff under a non-partisan board of experts.

9—Control of monopolistic combinations by insistence on publicity and by regulation through an administrative body clothed with sufficient power.

This gathering was a forerunner of what was to be a movement of the Roosevelt men in the party who opposed Taft and left the Old Guard with the electoral vote of but two States in the next Presidential election—Vermont and Utah.

Grafton D. Cushing succeeded Joseph Walker as Speaker of the House and Levi H. Greenwood, President of the Senate in place of Allen Treadway.

Inauguration day was Jan 4. The Chief recommendations in the Governor's inaugural were:

The Boston Holding Company "must be dissolved."

If the New York, New Haven and Hartford and the Boston and Maine railroads are not parallel and competing lines, within the definition of the Sherman law, then there is no objection to their consolidation under proper restrictions and conditions.

But the two lines must be physically connected and thus provide through passenger and freight traffic. Either the railroads may be required to make the connection as one of the conditions of their consolidation, or the public can assume the ownership of the railroad terminals and furnish the necessary connection.

Cities and towns in the Metropolitan district should be combined into a Greater Boston so that the port and the transportation facilities could be developed to make Boston one of the 10 great cities of the world.

There should be public ownership of docks and water terminals. To secure the entrance of the Great Trunk lines of Canada into Boston, the railroad terminals should be publicly owned, if that is necessary.

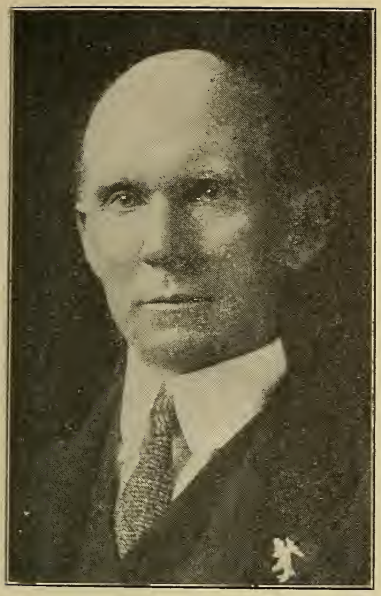
Persons desiring to market stock or other securities in the State should be required to obtain permission of a State authority, based upon a sworn statement of the actual condition of the enterprise.

The Legislature should investigate the so-called Bread Trust, now in the process of formation.

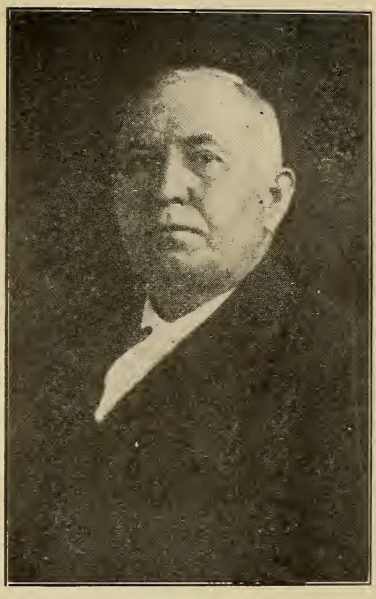
Trusts and monopolies should be regulated by the State, and for this purpose the full power of enforcing the anti-trust act of 1908 should be restored to district attorneys.

A Public Utilities Board should be created to take the place of the Railroad, and Gas and Electric Light Commission, and to supervise telephone and telegraph service.

A State Finance Board should be authorized to supervise State and county expenses.

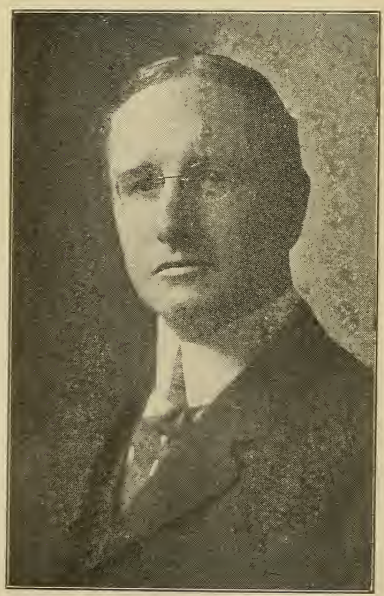


Charles Sumner Bird.



Daniel Cosgrove.

Matthew Hale.



Joseph Walker.

Party enrollment at the primaries should be done away with, as the voter is entitled to the same secrecy at the primaries that he enjoys at the polls.

The initiative, referendum and recall were again urged upon the Legislature for adoption.

United States Senators should be chosen by direct vote of the people.

Voters should be permitted to express their choice of candidates for nomination for President and Vice President.

All campaign advertising, participation by corporations in elections, all hiring or loaning of conveyances and all expenditures of money at the polls should be prohibited under heavy penalties.

The man who sells his vote must be punished as well as the man who buys it.

All candidates and committees should be compelled to make sworn statements of expenses the day before election.

The State should publish a pamphlet in which each candidate should have space to state his claims.

Provision should be made for submitting the question of woman suffrage to the people.

A constitutional amendment forbidding the enactment of all special and local legislation for cities should be passed and submitted to the people to the end that interference with the internal affairs of the cities shall be stopped.

Under proper conservation of natural resources $25,000,000 a year could be derived from timber alone, and a revenue of $500,000 a year could be provided by the fostering of the shellfish industry and the developments of the flats owned by the Commonwealth.

A Labor Bureau should be created for the enforcement of labor statutes and for the advancement into laws of plans for legislation already formulated.

The State Prison at Charlestown should be sold and a new prison constructed with a view to the classification and separation of prisoners.

Prisoners should be compensated for their labor, and their earnings paid to their dependents or retained to be paid to the prisoner at the expiration of his term.

A State fair should be established and larger appropriations made for agricultural societies and for fairs and exhibitions, for the purpose of increasing the amount and value of farm and dairy products.

Free scholarships, awarded for superior merit and carrying free tuition in any college in the State approved by the State Board of Education should be provided by the State in place of grants to educational institutions. An appropriation of $50,000 would be sufficient for the purpose.

The Legislature should ratify the proposed Federal tax amendment.

The immediate reform of the tax system of the State.

Massachusetts should co-operate with other New England States for more uniform legislation with regard to taxation, regulation of railroads and other corporations, and the conservation of forests, water powers, fisheries and other natural resources.

In anticipation of the opening of the Panama Canal "our imperative duty" is to make of Boston a great maritime city, to secure the best possible transportation service, and in every way to prepare for a better New England.

In a special message to the Senate, Jan 18, Governor Foss urged a real State Income tax. The State police announced that they had evidence of an Anarchist plot to kill the Governor, because he had ordered out the Militia in the Lawrence Textile strike. Precautions were taken to prevent any attack on the Governor, but nothing more was heard of the alleged plot.

Sheriff Seavy of Suffolk County, died in January and the Governor appointed John Quinn Jr. the Democratic member of the Executive Council to succeed him. The Legislature elected Edward D. Collins of South Boston to succeed Councillor Quinn.

The initiative and referendum was unable to muster a two-thirds vote in the House and failed as a Constitutional amendment. Redistricting the State into 16 Congressional districts proved a difficult task for the legislative special committee and occasioned a lot of criticism from members of the Legislature and Congress.

Of the numerous appointments made by Gov Foss in May, the most important were the five new Industrial Accident Board members to administer the Workingmens' Compensation Act passed the year before. The chairman received a five years' salary of $5000 and the others $4500 each. The men appointed and their terms were: Chairman, James B. Carroll of Springfield, five years; Dudley M. Holman of Taunton, the Governor's Secretary, four years; Ex-Mayor David T. Dickinson of Cambridge, three years; Edward F. McSweeney of Boston, two years; Representative Joseph A. Parks of Fall River, one year.

Late in May the legislators planned to adjourn, but the Governor served notice on them that he would not prorogue them until the members passed certain measures, particularly the reorganization of the Railroad Commission and his bill merging the Boston & Maine with the New Haven. June 10th, after repeated unsuccessful attempts by individuals to get the Governor to prorogue the Legislature, Senator George H. Tinkham suggested that if Gov Foss continued to sign and veto legislation, not done on its merits, the Governor should be impeached by the House and Senate, in accordance with the terms of the Constitution which provides for that action in cases of mal-administration and misconduct by the Executive.

Senator Tinkham charged that Gov Foss' action was tak-

en in order to obtain his own ends, and in case impeachment proceedings were instituted, it was suggested that inquiry should be made as to whether there had been a working understanding between him and the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company to obtain or prevent legislation for their mutual benefit. The Governor only laughed at the suggestion but from that on the Executive and Legislative branches worked more in harmony. On the evening of June 14, the Governor prorogued the Legislature.

He signed the Grand Trunk Bill which enlarged and extended the corporate powers of the Southern New England Railroad Company, a part of the Grand Trunk system. With the signing of the measure several gentlemen personally and financially interested who were earnestly watching the passage of the bill, breathed sighs of relief. Among them were Moorfield Storey, E. H. FitzHugh, President of the Southern New England, and the Vermont Central, Charles S. Baxter, Judge Thomas W. Kenefick of Palmer and Cy Warman, the accomplished press representative of the Grand Trunk. These gentlemen had good reason to worry. His Excellency had given them his personal assurance that he did not intend to sign the measure until he had secured legislation for the transportation commission desired by him. With this legislation not yet in sight, the Governor settled all doubts about the Grand Trunk by signing the measure and congratulating the people of the Commonwealth in a special message that the Grand Trunk Railroad system was coming to Boston. It is still on its way.

There was a systematic, organized opposition to the Grand Trunk Bill by the New Haven interests. One snag after another was encountered and the discussion of the matter occupied hours in committee and on the floor of the two branches. Amendments, hostile and otherwise, were offered and debated, and some of them accepted. It was hailed as a great victory for the opponents of the Morgan railroad interests. The Berkshire trolley merger, so much desired by the New Haven management was vetoed by Gov Foss but the bill was passed over his veto in the House. The Senate sustained it.

The New Haven interests at the State House were cared for by William H. Coolidge, one of the leading corporation lawyers of the State, who had been for many years the Bos-

ton & Maine Railroad representative on legal matters, on Beacon Hill, a man of means and active in business and financial affairs. He had worked his way up from the bottom of the ladder and knew the law and the railroad business from A to Z. Mr. Coolidge possessed a sense of humor, which often cropped out at legislative committee hearings and investigations. One day when a bill was before the railroad committee, providing for further public regulation of railroads, Mr. Coolidge referred in his argument against the measure to George Ade's Story of how Canada and the United States treated its railroad builders.

"Two young hustling Americans," said Mr. Coolidge, quoting the Hoosier philosopher, "began railroading in the West. One went to Canada and built up a great Trans-Continental line, the other remained in this country and developed one of the big trunk lines of the West. For doing precisely the same thing the former was knighted by the King and the latter was indicted by the Federal Grand Jury."

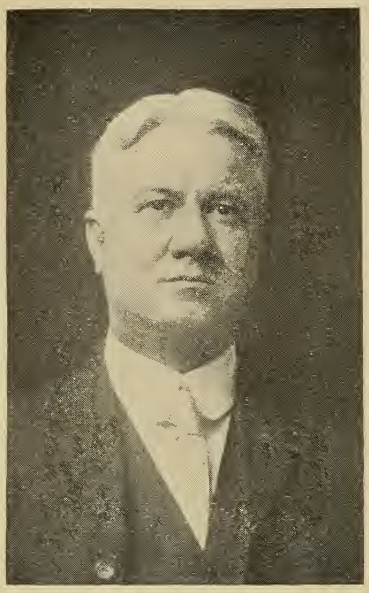
The Railroad Bill, giving mandatory powers to the Railroad Commission and electrification within the Metropolitan district, also died. After rejecting the Crocker amendment for a State-built cross-town tunnel, the House bill was given its several readings under suspension of the rules. The Senate dealt the amended bill a final blow by a vote of 11 to 21 and asked for a committee of conference. The conference committee reported its inability to agree and a motion for a second conference was rejected 5 to 12.

Conference committees failed to agree on any measure providing for preference voting for United States Senators. The report was accepted on a roll call, 14 to 10.

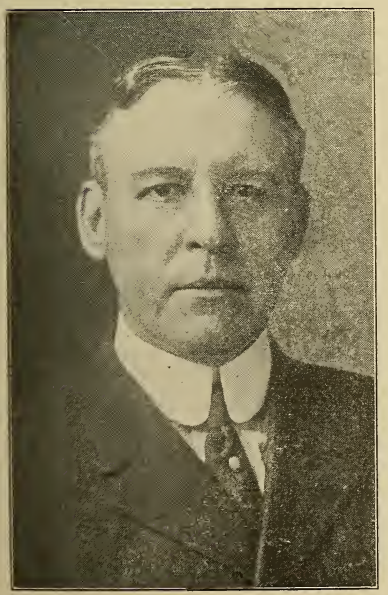
In the House, an order for a special recess committee of eight House members and such Senators as might be joined, to investigate public ownership of trolleys was defeated. The House, however, adopted a Senate order calling for a Legislative committee of three Senators and four Representatives to investigate the transportation situation in the Western part of the State.

In the meantime, Governor Foss sent in two more messages. He renewed his demand for a strengthened Railroad Commission and transfer of the telephone supervision. By a vote of 117 to 77 this measure was referred to the next General Court. He also urged preference voting for United

George Holden Tinkham.



William H. Coolidge.



Edgar R. Champlin.

Charles S. Baxter.

States Senators. The House merely referred this message to the Senate—"for its information."

The House insisted on a $6,000,000 State tax, instead of $6,500,000 which the House Ways and Means members with few exceptions, advised the lower branch was the more honest proposition. The Senate referred it to Ways and Means, which immediately reported back the $6,500,000 State tax. This bill the Senate gave its several readings and the new measure was sent to the House. The House balked. A committee of conference was agreed upon and it was announced that this committee would finally compromise on $6,250,000.

As soon as the Legislature was prorogued, Speaker Cushing issued a statement in which he scored the Governor, charging him with blocking the Legislature and that he had conducted a campaign of notoriety with veto as a club. In a statement criticizing the Governor, the Speaker said:

"The Constitution provides for a veto in order to prevent undesirable legislation and not in order that it may be used as a club to compel legislation which the Chief Executive wishes to see enacted, and when a Legislature finds the veto power thus used and the authority to send in messages utilized to initiate a conflict which will make political capital by leading the people to believe that a hostile Legislature is being held in session in order to compel legislation for the public welfare, is it to be wondered that the respect in which a Governor of the State should be held by the Legislature has been destroyed and that the relations between the executive and legislative branches have been strained to the breaking point?

"I have refrained from making any statement while the Legislature was in session, believing that it is not in keeping with the dignity of the body over which I have the honor to preside for its Speaker to enter into public controversy with the Governor of the State. In justice to the good name of that body I cannot refrain from this statement of fact, which can be certified by a consultation of the records of the Legislature and the statements issued by the Governor in the public press."

In his reply to the Speaker the Governor said among other things:

"I hope it will be remembered that this Legislature took upon itself the responsibility of denying to the people every plan whereby they were to be given some real authority over all railroad matters.

"I dismissed the Legislature only when I became convinced that it absolutely would not meet its public duty in this matter. However, I brought the issue to a point where it became obvious to everyone in the Commonwealth that the railroad interests were in complete control of the Legislature.

"And now Mr. Cushing very significantly admits that he and the Legislature do not believe in placing the railroads under public

control. Mr. Cushing's statement also brings out a very notable fact that the Legislature granted (however reluctantly) almost every reform I advocated which did not interfere with the transportation monopolies.

"It looks to me now as if the Legislature had in fact tried to do all it could in following my recommendations on everything except railroad matters, so that it might in this way cover up its own iniquity in leaving the transportatiion companies free from State control."

Then he turned to some of the things he had secured from the Legislature, saying:

"Thus I secured a ratification of the popular election of United States Senators, and a Presidential Preference law to enable the people to state their choice of Presidential candidates; also a State Finance Board (Commission on Efficiency and Economy) to supervise public expenditures and introduce modern methods into the management of State institutions and the public business.

"Other very important measures that I have secured from the Legislature are the new Labor Bureau to supervise the working conditions in shops, factories, etc. and a strong law prohibiting corporations from making discriminatory prices for the purpose of choking off competitors, and a law calling for an investigation of stock watering and the methods of selling stock in this State. Also laws favoring the conservation of our forests, water powers, fish and game and other natural resources.

"At the same time it will be noticed that the parts of my program affecting the great transportation corporations which control a majority of our legislators have been thrown out one by one by the Legislature.

"Every effort was made by these corporations to over-throw my veto of the so-called merger, a bill which was designated to turn over the trolley lines of Western Massachusetts to the New York, New Haven and Hartford R. R. But public sentiment was so strongly against this merger with its own defiance of the existing laws of the State, that my veto was sustained."

The Legislature off his hands Gov Foss plunged into the National campaign which was well under way before the Legislature adjourned.

CHAPTTR XXXVIII

MASSACHUSETTS' PART IN NATIONAL CAMPAIGN OF 1912—ROOSEVELT AND TAFT SPLIT REPUBLICAN DELEGATION TO NATIONAL CONVENTION—CHAMP CLARK SUPPORTED BY DEMOCRATS.

BECAUSE of its direct primary law, Massachusetts became one of the early battle grounds of both parties in the National campaign of 1912. Champ Clark's candidacy for the Democratic Presidential nomination appealed to a majority of the Six O'clock Democrats of the State and the ticket with delegates favorable to him easily won in the primaries. Friends of Woodrow Wilson tried to break into the delegation but by the time they had arrived on the scene, the Clark men had pre-empted the field. The Wilson managers opened headquarters here under the supervision of Dudley Field Malone, who operated through William S. McNary, prominent for many years in Democratic State politics. Gov Wilson came to Massachusetts and made speeches in Boston, Worcester, Fall River, Springfield and Holyoke but he was unable to make a dent in the solid line of Clark men.

Col Roosevelt paid a short visit to Boston, late in February. He divided his time among personal friends. Col Roosevelt always creates a stir every time he visits Boston, but on this occasion it approached a political sensation. Sunday evening, Feb 26, the Colonel was a dinner guest of his old friend Judge Robert Grant. That same evening he issued through The Outlook office in New York, his favorable reply to the seven Governors who asked him to become a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination. He was in fine fettle and announced with glee that his hat was in the ring. The next day he addressed the members of the Legislature.

Even up to this point he was not disposed to call Taft the hard names he did later, nor would be countenance a statement attributed to him in which he was quoted as saying that Taft had lost the confidence of the people and a Progressive was needed in the White House.

"I could not more definitely state my position on the great is-

sues of the day than I stated it in my Columbus speech and again before the Massachusetts Legislature. In addition to calling attention to what I there said, on the subject of popular government, I also call particular attention to what I said at Columbus on the business situation and the proper attitude of the Government toward business, so as to insure conditions that will make for the prosperity of the business world," said the Colonel explaining his "hat in the ring" announcement.

That Ohio speech he referred to was still haunting him. Almost every hour somebody was demanding a little more light on some phase of it. The Colonel returned to it again while in Boston, saying:

"In my Ohio speech I dwelt with emphasis upon the two great subjects of immediate moment to our people, the need of having a real and not merely a nominal popular rule and the need of securing prosperity for the business man, the wage-earner and the farmer alike.

"As I then said I most emphatically believe that it is necessary to have an equitable division of prosperity, but that it behooves us to keep in mind that we cannot divide the prosperity unless the prosperity is here to divide, and that to secure the well being of the business world is emphatically in the interest of every citizen of the United States."

This was the speech in which he declared for a referendum by the people on judicial decisions involving the police powers, which legislators of late years have generously appropriated for legislative purposes. It cost the Colonel the support of many Republicans who were hesitating between him and Taft. From all over Northern and Eastern New England prominent Roosevelt supporters journeyed to Boston to confer with him.

President Taft came to Boston as the guest of the City Club and the South Boston Citizens Association March 18, He was the great attraction at the Evacuation Day exercises. In the evening, he was the chief guest at the Charitable Irish Society banquet. While in New England Mr. Taft did some campaigning in New Hampshire. On the afternoon of March 18th, the President addressed the Massachusetts Legislature taking issue with Col Roosevelt on what he termed an attack on the judiciary, saying:

"I am not going to stop and discuss in detail the question of direct primary elections, their uses and abuses. I think everyone will admit, however, in order that they may accomplish the good that they are intended to accomplish, they should be safeguarded by effective provision, as to the party eligibility of voters who participate in them, and by penal provisions securing conformity to rules of such eligibility and the honest casting and counting of the ballot.

"Wherever full and fair notice of the election can be given, wherever adequate election safeguards can be thrown around to protect a perferential primary for the Presidency, wherever the Constitution of the State permits its being made applicable to the present election, I favor it and welcome it."

The President made a pointed reference to the proposition "Let the people rule," saying in part:

"The continued iteration and reiteration of the proposition, 'Let the people rule' if it has any significance at all, and is intended otherwise than to flatter the people, is intended to be a reflection on the Government that we have laid down to the present time.

"Now, in spite of all the corruption, in spite of all the machine politics, in spite of every defect in the operation of our Government that can be pointed out, I do not hesitate to say that the history of the last 135 years shows that the people have ruled. They may have been defeated at times by corrupt and corrupting influences. Congresses and Legislatures may have halted by subterranean methods in carrying out the people's desire but, in the end, under our present Constitution and our present laws, we have had a really popular Government."

Regarding the recall of the judiciary and the recall of judicial decisions, he said in part:

"This is a government of law, not of changing economic and political theories of judicial or executive officers when those theories are in conflict with the express letter of the law. Suggestions of that sort are dangerous because they put the Ship of State on a sea of troubles without a rudder. They destroy that respect for constituted authority that is essential to well-ordered liberty. The strength of the Government and the strength of the judiciary must rest ultimately on the confidence of the people in their integrity.

"Irresponsible assaults upon either in intemperate language or in baseless assumptions of corruption or bias, or incompetency, made by those whose statement have influence with any part of our people, are a serious menace to enduring government."

While in Boston President Taft conferred with his friends of the Taft League which had been organized to elect delegates favorable to his renomination. Leaving Boston, the President journeyed to Nashua, Manchester and Concord, N. H. where he was greeted by monster crowds and talked to enthusiastic audiences.

We shall have to leave Col Roosevelt and President Taft for a while to speak of Gov Foss. Before the Clark men put their ticket into the field, they talked with the Governor and told him that Mr. Clark had made it a rule not to contest a State where a local candidate was in the field. If he was a candidate, the Clark men said they would not file any candidates for delegates. George Fred Williams, taking Governor

Foss at his word that he was out of the race, became active for Clark.

"On my return from Nebraska," said Mr. Williams when taken to task by Mayor Fitzgerald for being hostile to Foss, "I consulted Gov Foss concerning his position as a candidate and he confirmed what he had repeatedly told me that he would not be a candidate for the Presidential nomination.

"A week previously he had expressed to me the purpose of notifying all other Presidential candidates that he invited them to place their names upon the primary ballot and take the test of Democratic preference. This purpose he repeated to me on the 22d.

"I thereupon stated that it was my intention to put a ticket into the field for Mr Clark and have his name on the preferential ballot. With this purpose he expressed his accord and my whole course thereafter in preparing a ticket of sympathizers with Mr. Clark's candidacy was in accord with this understanding.

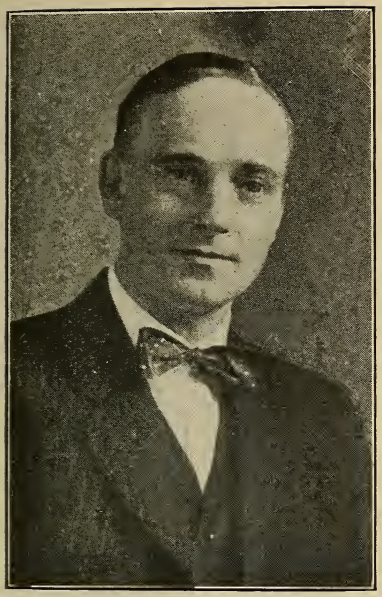
"Mr Clark, however, hearing conflicting reports, asked Congressman Curley to confer personally with the Governor, and this was done, March 24, and Congressman Curley informed me and later Speaker Clark that the Governor's statements to him accorded exactly with those he had made to me.

"On Monday the 25th Mr Clark, as I understand, was notified by the Governor that his name would go on the preferential ballot as a candidate and therefore Mr Clark withdrew his name."

April 3rd Congressman Curley, the Clark representative in this State, accompanied by Ex-United States Senator Dubois of Idaho called on Gov Foss and after their interview with him the Governor wrote the Secretary of State withdrawing his name from the primary. Clark's managers gave it out that the Speaker's name would remain on the ballot. A few days later Gov Foss declined to allow the use of his name for the nomination in the Rhode Island primary.

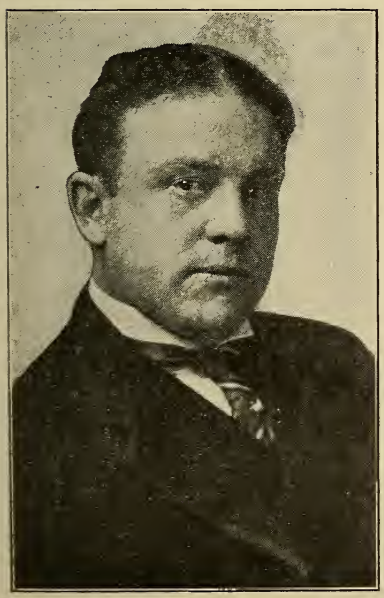
To return to Taft and Roosevelt. A new man in State politics was introduced in this campaign, or, rather, introduced himself—Charles Sumner Bird of Walpole, a wealthy manufacturer and the son of Frank Bird, known to the older politicians as the "Sage of Walpole." Charles Sumner Bird's daughter married the Progressive Governor of New Hampshire, Robert P. Bass. Mr. Bird was intensely Rooseveltian. Mr. Bird gave liberally to the Progressive campaign fund and a full fledged State-wide campaign was made in behalf of a Roosevelt ticket for delegates to the National Republican convention.

Senator Crane, Congressman Gardner and Congressman Weeks, got a little anxious over the way Gen Champlin was running the President's campaign in this State and personally endeavored to put a little more ginger into it. The trou-

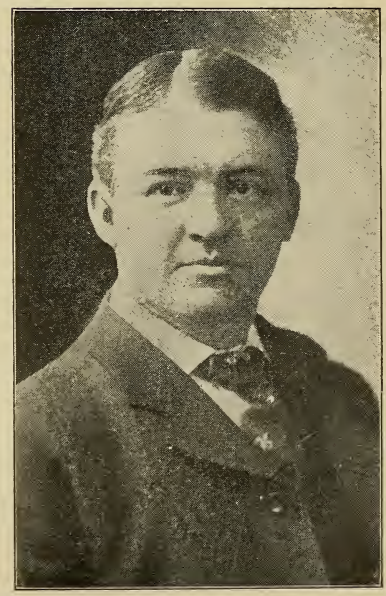


William F. Murray.

James M. Curley.



Norman H. White.



Sherman L. Whipple.

ble was that it had passed the ginger stage and needed a stronger stimulant to brace it up. But the work which Congressman Gardner and his friends did in the last two weeks saved the day for Taft. "I am here to kick the hat out of the ring," declared Gardner. Both Taft and Roosevelt toured the State before the primaries.

The President said in a speech he made at Lawrence:

"I dislike to involve myself in a personal controversy with a man to whom I am greatly indebted and the debt of gratitude I have never denied, and therefore kept peace for two months of misrepresentation because I wanted to go through this campaign without being compelled to speak.

"But my dear friends, when you are backed up against a wall, and a man is hitting you in each eye, and punishing you in every other way, both above and below the belt, by George, if you have any manhood in you, you have got to fight."

President Taft said he would much prefer to remain in Washington and attend to his official duties but under the circumstances he believed he was justified in coming to the good people of this historic old Commonwealth, the home of his ancestors, laying his case before them and asking them to decide it.

Col Roosevelt said many harsh things in his Massachusett speeches against President Taft, accusing him of untruths and misrepresentations. In the primaries, Taft carried the State on a preference for the nomination over Roosevelt by almost 5000, but lost the Delegates-at-Large, due largely to the candidacy of Frank Seiberlich, who ran as an Independent, pledged to Taft. Many Republicans voted for everything on the ballot labeled Taft and the result was that thousands of Taft ballots were spoiled. Holding that a preferential vote was binding, Col Roosevelt renounced any claim he had on the Delegates-at-Large and asked them to vote for Taft. The State delegation to the Republican National convention was 18 for Taft, 18 for Roosevelt. The Roosevelt delegates refused to comply with the wish of the Colonel.

The vote on Presidential preference was as follows:

La Follette	2,005
Roosevelt	81,854
Taft	86,089

The vote for the two leading candidates for Delegates-at-large was:

Baxter (heading Roosevelt group) 84,834
Crane (heading Taft group) 76,854

Delegates-at-Large, all for Roosevelt chosen were: Charles S. Baxter of Medford, George W. Coleman of Boston, Frederick Fosdick of Fitchburg, Albert Bushnell Hart of Cambridge, Octave A. LaRiviere of Springfield, James P. Magenis of Boston, Arthur L. Nason of Haverhill, Alvin G. Weeks of Fall River.

Gov Foss secured seven of the Delegates-at-Large to the Democratic National convention. All of the Delegates-at-Large were pledged to Foss except Frank J. Donahue who declared "for the preference of the Democrats." The Democratic Delegates-at-Large were: Frank J. Donahue of Boston, John W. Coughlin of Fall River, John F. Fitzgerald of Boston, William P. Hayes of Springfield, Charles J. Martell of Boston, Humphrey O'Sullivan of Lowell, Charles B. Strecker of Brookline, David I. Walsh of Fitchburg.

Eight of the District Delegates were pledged to Clark and the rest were unpledged but most of them favored the nomination of the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Roosevelt men were very bitter against Senator Crane because of his activities for Taft and they declined to vote for his re-election as National Committeeman, which position he continued to hold because of the failure of the delegates to select a successor. The Democrats, after much wrangling, re-elected Dr John W. Coughlin as Democratic National Committeeman from Massachusetts.

CHAPTER XXXIX

ON TO CHICAGO AND BALTIMORE—REPUBLICAN STEAM ROLLER RUNS OVER T. R. MEN—BRYAN FLAYS TAMMANY—DESERTS CLARK AND NOMINATES WILSON.

PRESIDENT Taft and his friends must have seen that Republican sentiment was against them. The spirit of radicalism, sailing under the flag of Progressivism, was sweeping over the Republican ranks. The fight for the nomination had degenerated into a personal quarrel between Roosevelt and Taft.

Following the Massachusetts primaries the contest became even more personal and bitter. President Taft and his friends were determined to prevent Roosevelt from getting the Republican nomination. The Old Guard raised the third term cry against Roosevelt. From all quarters came the same report—Taft was lossing State after State in the primaries. Roosevelt was backed by several millionaires in his fight against Taft. The personal fortunes of some of them, it was claimed, had been affected by Taft's prosecution of trusts with which they were connected. At any rate there was no lack of campaign funds among the Progressives. The administration had the advantage of being able to line up the Southern delegates, most of whom were office holders. Roosevelt's friends determined to contest the right of some of these delegates to sit in the convention. The preparation of these contests was left to Ormsby McHarg, a former office holder under Roosevelt. Owing to the large number of contests to be heard by the Republican National Committee, that body was called together at Chicago, June 6, 10 days before the convention.

Samuel J. Elder, one of Boston's best known lawyers and close personal friend of President Taft, an authority on election laws, was called in to advise on the contests. Mr. Elder was counsel for the United States in the fisheries arbitration at the Hague two years before, by appointment of President Taft. Senator Dixon of Montana represented Col Roosevelt

at Chicago. Assisting him were Francis Heney of California, Frank Kellogg of Minnesota and others.

"Facing a revolution of the Republican voters of the Nation and repudiated in every Republican State where the voters themselves have had an opportunity to express their preference in primary elections, in their desperate attempts to try and defeat Roosevelt's nomination they are now urging members of the Republican National Committee to a revolutionary program that would mean the death knell of Republican hopes in the November election," said Senator Dixon in the first day's meeting of the National committee, and, he added: "By fraud and manipulation and brutal control of the political machines the Taft managers have stolen district and state conventions; with the eyes of the Nation centered on Chicago, they will ignominiously fail in their brazen effort to steal the Presidential nomination itself. The Taft managers confidently assert that they have some men on the National Committee who are prepared to use the arsenic bottle method of settling the contests pending before the committee."

Congressman McKinley of Illinois, manager of the Taft forces said:

"Tht first disappointment Mr Roosevelt will experience before the governing bodies of the Republican party will be the collapse of his contests. The most charitable thing that can be said concerning them is that he either knows nothing about them personally or he has been misinformed from the outset."

McKinley predicted Taft's nomination by over 50 majority.

Every day the score of the contests was against Roosevelt. As the Taft men chalked up the number, the Roosevelt men loudly protested and threatened to bolt the convention if the committee insisted on going on in that way. The Roosevelt men charged that the Taft men were robbing them of their delegates right and left. The feeling in both camps was intensely bitter as shown by a statement made June 10th, by Ormsby McHarg, on the rumored intention of the National Committee to unseat the entire Roosevelt delegation from California on a technicality, who declared:

"If we are robbed of any delegates there will be a political revolution in this country. We have had offers by telegraph of 1000 crack shots from Oklahoma to march right down to the Coliseum and clean out the whole caboodle of those who could dare do such a thing.

"If a man robs me of what is mine I will come pretty near seeing that he is punished for his crime. Let the National Committee attempt such a thing and you will see this city in a riot in no time."

The day that Mr. Elder argued the Arizona cases was a

Gen. William F. Draper's Statue at Hopedale.

lively one in National politics. The two most important arrivals in the convention city were George W. Perkins, prominent in the Roosevelt committee and John Hays Hammond, of the Taft forces. John Hays Hammond, it is said, can tell a mine as soon as he steps on it. He certainly stepped on a political mine that day. On his arrival workmen in the Roosevelt and Taft mines began to touch off the fuses and there was a series of small explosions all day. George W. Perkins stood around the hotel corridors talking with friends and remarked that the Taft men had better stop talking about campaign funds.

"We are spending our money as individuals," said he, "but Taft is spending the people's and the interests' money. If the National Committee keeps up its steam roller tactics they might just as well hand the convention over to Roosevelt. The delegates wont stand for it, and he is sure to be nominated."

Late that afternoon Manager McKinley issued a long statement in which he said that Taft would be nominated on the first ballot. He also made the direct charge that the Roosevelt camp was planning to buy the nomination. When Senator Dixon, the Roosevelt manager, was shown the statement, he said coolly:

"Say for me please that it is a cheap ordinary campaign lie so far as the charges of bribery are concerned. As for his claim that Taft will be nominated, he knows that to be untrue also."

On the afternoon of June 15, Col Roosevelt arrived in Chicago. A great crowd welcomed him at the railroad station and followed him to his hotel. At the railroad station the California delegation was in the surging throng. The Californians brought along their banners and their band to help swell the enthusiasm. The band played "Hail, hail, the Gang's All Here." They put their banners right up alongside the Roosevelt automobile and they set up a yell that must have reached the Coliseum a half mile away, where the National Committee was superintending the steam roller at work, flattening out the Colonel's friends.

One of the banners carried by the Californians read on one side: "California's 26 votes Solid for Roosevelt," and on the reverse: "California Refuses to Try Title to Property Before the Thieves Who Stole It." The Colonel stood up in his automobile, bowing and smiling at the crowd before the start was made for his headquarters. After the police had

made a passage for his automobile, the procession started, the band playing, "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight." At his hotel, in response to the demands of 10,000 people he spoke from a balcony, saying:

"My friends, Chicago is a bad place for men to try to steal in. I wish you to look at that placard of California. California's 26 votes are mine and shall be counted as such. And mind you, the receiver of stolen goods is no better than the thief.

"This has come down to mean a fight for honesty against dishonesty, for honesty against theft. The people have spoken and the politicians dead or living who opposed them will be made to understand that they are the servants and not the masters of the rank and file of the plain people of the Republic."

"You bet," yelled several in the street below.

"This is no faction fight. This is a contest between the people themselves and the professional politicians representing all that is worst in the corruption of business. And the people will win. (Applause).

"And we had with us in the primaries (a voice, "Illinois") Yes Sir, 56 to 2, and from states where the people could express their will we have obtained your votes 2 to 1, 3 to 1 and even 8 to 1."

The tone of the Colonel's speech and the remarks of his political lieutenants indicated plainly that they meant to reconstitute the old party or create a new one. On the night of the 17th of June, Roosevelt's friends held a meeting which packed the Auditorium. He then and there announced that he would not be bound by the votes of fraudulently chosen delegates. He flayed Taft and the bosses. Senator Borah of Idaho presided at the meeting and discussed the steam roller tactics of the National Committee.

The following day, the Old Guard had the votes to select Elihu Root for permanent Chairman of the Convention. With Root's election, whatever chance Roosevelt had vanished. Root was for Taft, was put there by Taft's friends and it was up to him to see that Taft was nominated, which he did. Root and Roosevelt had been boon companions. Root had been his Secretary of State, but he was a Standpatter of Standpatters. Once Col Roosevelt is said to have exclaimed that he would crawl on his hands and knees, from the White House to the Capitol, if by so doing, he could make Root President. When Root took the gavel in hand one could almost hear the Rooseveltians hiss "Et tu Brute." Gov. McGovern of Wisconsin was the Roosevelt candidate for temporary chairman of the con-

vention. The vote was Root 558, McGovern 502. Massachusetts divided 18 and 18 on the question as she did on all questions of importance in the convention.

There was some talk of Gov Hadley of Missouri, a Roosevelt man, as a compromise candidate for the presidential nomination but President Taft, it was claimed, would not stand for it and the idea had to be given up. After five days given over to the preliminaries, the convention on June 22, compressed its real business into a little more than five hours. Mr. Roosevelt called upon his followers to register a silent protest by sitting in their seats and decline to take part in the voting. This policy was pursued by 344 delegates.

The victors in the battle went forth from the scene of their triumph without sounding a note of rejoicing, while the vanquished hastened to Orchestra Hall to hear Mr. Roosevelt. Only one ballot was taken for the nominees for President and Vice President, as follows:

For President:

William H. Taft of Ohio	561
Theodore Roosevelt of New York	107
Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin	41
Albert S. Cummins of Iowa	13
Absent	6
Charles E. Hughes of New York	2
Not voting	344
Taft's majority	21

For Vice President:

James S. Sherman of New York	597
William E. Borah of Idaho	21
Charles E. Merriam of Illinois	20
Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana	2
Howard F. Gillette of Illinois	1
Absent	85
Present but not voting	338
Sherman's majority	57

Sixty years before in the same city the Republican party nominated Abraham Lincoln and began its almost unbroken success. It was a sad reminder of the glories of the past. Massachusetts occasioned the wildest scene of the entire day when the nomination was made. The clerk called an alternate's name in place of a Roosevelt delegate who had declined to vote. A protest arose, but Chairman Root ruled that where a delegate failed to discharge his duty his alternate should have an opportunity to discharge it and represent his constituency. This method was adopted, however, to fit Massachusetts, the

only State where the alternates, and delegates, at least those at large were on opposite sides. Alternates had not been called in the preceding States on the roll, where Roosevelt men had answered and declined to vote.

The uproar over the Massachusetts case did not subside for several minutes sufficiently for the call to be resumed. Immediately afterward, when the name of John D. Long was called as a Taft delegate-at-large there was cheering, but Mr. Long not being present, the next alternate was called.

When it was no use to further contest with the Taft men, Roosevelt's followers met apart for the purpose of deciding on their future course.

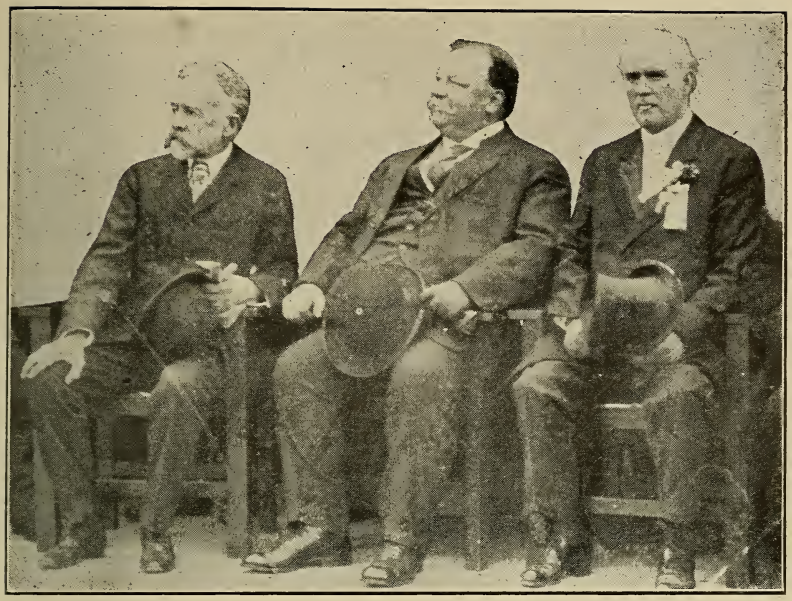
Senator Borah served notice on the Colonel at a meeting of the latter's supporters that he would not bolt. He bolted in 1896 on the Silver question and it took him many years to live that record down. Gov Hadley and Gov Dineen refused to follow him out of the old party. Nobody from Massachusetts in the Old Guard camp agreed to follow the Colonel. Even Maine refused to bolt—Maine that had offered to die for him in the Progressive cause. A State election in Maine was on in September and they didn't want to sacrifice all, they said. It was decided to have a Convention of T. R. men in August in Chicago and nominate the Colonel.

When the Massachusetts delegates reached Baltimore, the Democratic convention city, they found a fine young row incubating between William J. Bryan and some of his old friends, over the selection of Ex-Judge Alton B. Parker for temporary presiding officer of the convention. Mr. Bryan wouldn't listen to Parker's selection and said after the formal selection of Judge Parker had been made by the National Committee:

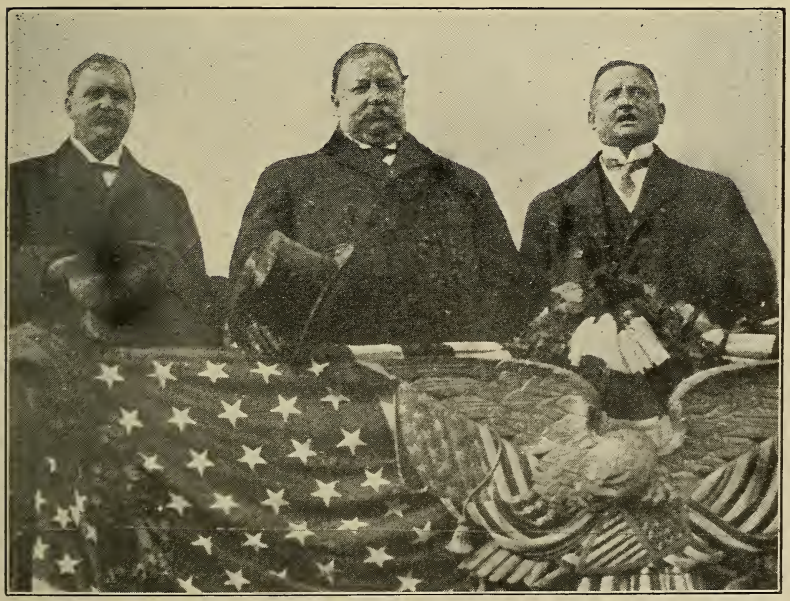
"The talk of harmony is too absurd to deserve consideration. I tried to secure harmony by urging several weeks ago that the committee invite Mr. Clark and Mr. Wilson, whose instructed delegates constitute nearly two-thirds of the convention, to agree upon a candidate for the purpose of avoiding friction. They not only failed to do this, but they refused to take the choice of either candidate and at Mr. Murphy's dictation forced Mr. Parker's nomination.

"The predatory interests have no politics. They are with the party that serves them. Having enabled a minority of the Republicans to override the will of the majority of Republicans at Chicago, they are now here to enable the minority of the Democrats to override the majority in this convention.

"There is not a great exploiting interest that is not represented in the lobbies of the hotels; there is not a corrupting influence in



Senator Lodge, President Taft, Mayor Farrell at Malden Celebration.



Gov. Foss, President Taft and Mayor Fitzgerald, Reviewing Evacuation Day Parade, South Boston.

American politics that is not being used, and the delegates to this convention underestimate the intelligence of the men who sent them here if they think they can go back and deceive them into believing that they supported Mr. Parker from any worthy motive."

Mr. Bryan put on his war paint and feathers, again snatched his tomahawk and started on the warpath after the Democratic reactionaries. An hour after he had hit the trail he had the palefaces of the "interests" on their knees offering him the pipe of peace, but he spurned it and said he'd not be satisfied with anything less than the scalps of the political trailers of his own tribe. When the Committee on Resolutions met, the chairmanship of the committee was laid aside for Mr. Bryan. After a long discussion and appeals for harmony, it was voted to name a subcommittee to wait on Mr. Bryan and ask him to accept the task of constructing the platform. He declined the chairmanship but was a member of the committee and dominated it.

David I. Walsh of Massachusetts was one of his willing assistants. On this occasion the Democrats named their candidate first and adopted their platform afterwards, thus reversing the order of things. The idea was Mr. Bryan's, who claimed that he wanted the platform to fit the candidate. He didn't want any more candidates amending the platform by telegraph as Judge Parker had eight years before. Some of the anti-Bryan men expressed the hope that Bryan would bolt. He had a special aversion against Thomas Fortune Ryan, the Wall Street financier who was a member of the Virginia delegation. Mr. Ryan was too close to the interests to suit Mr. Bryan. Ryan must be bottled up. When the convention met Speaker Clark was the leading candidate. His nearest competitor was Gov Wilson of New Jersey. Senator Ollie James of Kentucky was chosen permanent presiding officer. He was a Clark man but he was fair to all.

Gov Foss went to Baltimore, the custodian of his own boom. With him went a half dozen office holders from the State House. He didn't have any stationary headquarters at the convention city. He circulated among the delegates, talked with some of the candidates and sent out thousands of copies of a circular, entitled "Foss the Only Democrat Who Can Win," by a half dozen messenger boys. One of his friends in the delegation hired a nondescript band, so that the Massachusetts delegation might march into the convention hall and attract some attention. When Mr. Foss was suggested to

Mr. Bryan as a good man to nominate the Nebraskan smiled and remarked: "He's still wet about the neck. His Democracy is too recent."

The "Old Boy" asked William Sulzer of New York for his support. Sulzer replied that only once had the Democrats nominated a Republican—Horace Greeley—and he added, "You know what happened." Foss was unable to muster the complete vote of Massachusetts. Several of the delegates from his own State refused to take his candidacy seriously and little attention was paid to his appeal for votes outside of Massachusetts. On the 26th ballot, when Clark's vote began to break up, Gov Foss received 45 votes.

On the 14th ballot when Nebraska was called, Mr. Bryan arose amid the wildest tumult. When the chair had recognized him he strode towards the platform. Mounting the rostrum he announced it as his purpose to explain his vote. Stilling the clamor that his presence before the convention aroused, he declared that while he was instructed for Clark, he could not take any part in nominating a candidate where success depended upon the vote of New York and that to prevent such a result he felt free to vote for the second choice of Nebraska, Wilson.

The delegates' section was churned up with excitement and Mr. Bryan looked down upon the scene with his mouth shut like a steel trap, for McCorkle of West Virginia demanded to know if he was ready to pledge himself to support the nominee of the Convention. Mr. Bryan parried by remarking that his Democracy had the indorsement of 6,500,000 Democrats, but he answered further by saying that he had no idea that the Convention would nominate a man for whom he could not vote. Leaning over the rail of the rostrum like a captain standing on the bridge of a ship in a storm, he challenged his foes to ask him questions, saying that if any one had a question to ask him he would be glad to help him get it off his mind. As he said this, he smiled on the convention for the first time since he faced it the Tuesday before, but in the smile there was more defiance than good humor. During this blow from Bryan, the Clark vote sank and continued to sink throughout the balloting.

In this fierce clash of irreconcilable elements, the balloting continued and the thousands in the convention hall sat and stood as the day passed and Sunday drew near. It was Wil-

son against the field. Clark had been sent for and hurried on from Washington for the purpose of stemming the tide, but the convention adjourned before his arrival. On the 46th ballot at 3.30 P. M. July 2nd, Woodrow Wilson was nominated. Speaker Clark arrived in the convention city just in time to hear the announcement of the result of the 43rd ballot which showed a big gain of 108 votes for Wilson. Even New York tumbled over itself to cast its 90 votes through Boss Murphy for Wilson who didn't need them at that time.

Thomas M. Marshall, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice President. Great sympathy was expressed for Speaker Clark. Ballot after ballot he had led and had a majority of the delegates, but not the requisite two-thirds to nominate required by the Democratic Convention from the earliest days. He was popular with the public and well liked by his associates and he felt mortified over his defeat by a political novice, Gov Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey. He has never forgiven Bryan's betrayal of him. It was some time before he was reconciled, but he did call on the nominee during the campaign and spoke for the ticket. Time has softened his feelings towards most of those who went back on him and he has always been ready to serve the Wilson administration.

Another party was to be launched in the campaign—Col Roosevelt's party—the Bull Moose party, as it came to be known. It forms an interesting chapter in the political history of the country and Massachusetts had an important part in its launching.

CHAPTER XL

BIRTH OF THE BULL MOOSE PARTY AT CHICAGO.

MASSACHUSETTS was well represented when the Bull Moose or Progressive party was organized in August, 1912, at Chicago. Col Roosevelt had many prominent and influential friends in Massachusetts. It grieved his old friend Senator Lodge to see the Colonel bent on destroying the solidarity of the party of their early love, the party which had bestowed its choicest gifts on both. Roosevelt, cast in a different mould than Lodge, did not hesitate to ruthlessly strike down his party.

In Massachusetts Col Roosevelt found plenty of encouragement in the formation of his new party. Foremost among the Roosevelt leaders were Charles Sumner Bird, Prof Albert Busnell Hart, Matthew Hale, Richard Watson Child and Arthur D. Hill. Both Hill and Hale had been amply rewarded for any public or party service they rendered the Republicans of this State.

Hill had been named District Attorney of Suffolk County by Gov Draper on the death of John B. Moran, to serve until the voters could choose the latter's successor. The voters made short work of Hill and elected a Democrat, Joseph C. Pelletier. Hale had been, some years before, a tutor in the Roosevelt family, came to Boston, was introduced by Roosevelt's friends and was elected a member of the Board of Aldermen. Bird had never been active in politics. There were others, to be sure, men like Charles H. Davis of the Cape whose campaign contributions were made early and often, Ex-Congressman Lewis D. Apsley of Hudson, Rev Dr Perrin, James F. Magenis and Russell A. Wood. Just before the gathering of the Moose at Chicago, August 5, the Massachusetts Roosevelt followers elected 36 delegates to the National convention. Eighteen Presidential electors were also nominated. Roosevelt and Johnson were endorsed as the National ticket and the delegates were instructed to vote for them

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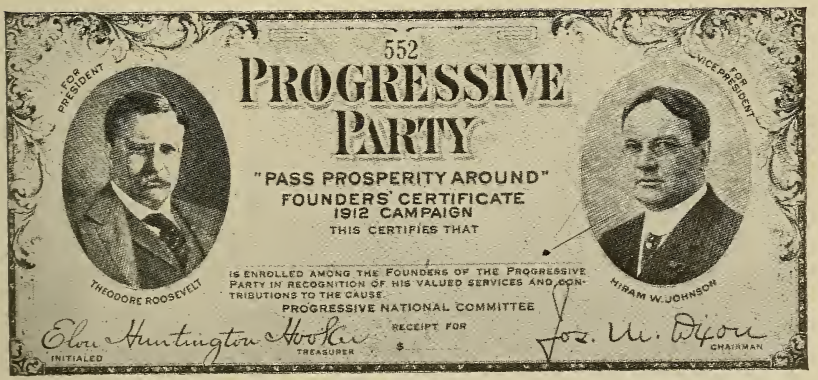
President Roosevelt and President-Elect Taft on the way to the Capitol, March 4, 1909, Escorted by Detail of U. S. Secret Service Men.



Founders Certificate Progressive Party, 1912.

"until the cows come home," on the motion of Timothy W. Coakley. Several women participated in the State convention.

The delegates elected to the Chicago convention, each with half a vote, were:

Adelard M. Potvin of Holyoke, Richard J. Talbot of Springfield, J. Frank Drake of Springfield, Frank Kinsman of Leominster, J. W. Whittaker of Gardner, Stephen E. French of Athol, Eli Bouchard of Worcester, William N. Osgood of Lowell, Augustus N. Parry Jr. of Amesbury, Benjamin Pearson of Newbury, Rudolph W. Currier of Lynn, Osborn McLeod of Cliftondale, C. F. Parmelee of Winchester, Bancroft Abbott of Watertown, F. H. Thomas of Cambridge, Arthur W. Glines of Somerville, Jeremiah J. McCarthy of Charlestown, James H. Madison of Boston, Carl Brandt of Jamaica Plain, Thomas F. Doherty of Dorchester, William B. Willcutt of Dorchester, Walter H. Foster of Allston, Benjamin Bennett of Brookline, Norman Marshall of Newton, Richard W. Nickerson of Dedham, Frank A. Morrill of Norwood, John Johnson of Quincy, Warren R. Keith of Brockton, Joseph B. Gerald of North Attleboro, William P. Pritchard of Fall River, Richard W. Child of Cohasset, Alvin C. Howe of Middleboro, Matthew Hale of Boston, Grace A. Johnson of Cambridge, Alice Carpenter of Brookline, and Maud Wood Park of Dorchester.

The declaration of principles invited everybody to the Progressive ranks. It favored the initiative and referendum, the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people, equal suffrage, a more equitable system of taxation, demanded the enforcement of the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, deplored lynch-law, favored a State industrial board to recommend labor legislation, which was also to report on the merits of any industrial controversy and favored the extension of the policy of regulating public utilities "and other business."

Like all third party movements, the Bull Moose party had its quota of cranks and extremists. It required all the tact of the presiding officer of the convention, Ex-Mayor Frederick Fosdick of Fitchburg, to handle them without causing a rumpus and at the same time prevent their cure-all schemes from being grafted on to the declaration of principles.

The Massachusetts contingent was on hand at the opening of the Chicago convention. Chicago was still Roosevelt mad when the convention opened. When the Colonel's train steamed into the La Salle St station, there was a crowd as big, if not bigger than the one that greeted him when he arrived in June to take personal command of his delegates in the hope of wresting the Republican nomination from President Taft.

It was a repetition of the June reception. In addition to the crowd that filled the railroad station there were two or three thousand more outside. A majority of them followed his automobile from the depot to his hotel. On the way it was the same old story, the crowd shouting "Teddy" and "Teddy" standing in the motor car bowing, waving his campaign hat and showing that fine set of teeth; now and then greeting an admirer or an old friend who eluded the police guard and succeeded in climbing on the running board of his automobile to shake hands.

In front of the hotel, in response to the persistent demands of his ardent supporters, he made a short speech in which he told them he was proud to be with them again to assist them at the birth of a new party, and not the death of an old one—a christening, not a funeral. He assured them that by November Taft and Sherman would not be factors in the Presidential race, meaning that the fight was between Woodrow Wilson and himself.

The Colonel was in Chicago but a few minutes when he settled down to business. He began to hold conferences with his party managers and receive callers of importance. The most vital and pressing subject was the race question. Outside his rooms at the Congress Hotel were a score or more of expostulating negroes, some of whom had been steamrollered out of their convention seats by the Colonel's provisional National Committee. Fiery threats and angry protests were uttered by these men, who felt that they had been humiliated and wronged by the new party managers. They demanded to see the Colonel. He declined to meet them and sent word by Senator Dixon, his campaign manager, that he could not and would not interfere.

"Tell them to read my letter to Julian Harris of Atlanta. It contains a full statement of my views" was the only satisfaction the colored men got. That did not satisfy them and they still hung around the Colonel's apartments. At one time the demonstration threatened a small-sized race war, but the police detail cleared the corridors and things quieted down.

To callers the Colonel expressed himself as delighted with the way things were going, remarking:

"Think of it. In seven weeks we have accomplished what it took the early republicans three years to do. We have in that short

time organized a new party that is sweeping the country like a prairie fire.

"We have more delegates in the Coliseum than has been gathered at either one of the old party conventions. Every man is paying his own way and in some of the States we had to issue orders that no more delegates should be elected, as we could not accommodate them in the hall."

Col Roosevelt did not appear at the opening session of his new party convention. He found plenty to do at his headquarters. He was the most sought after man in Chicago.

The decorations in the convention hall were simple but effective, consisting of red, white and blue bunting and hundreds of flags and National shields suspended from the ceiling girders. Over the platform uprights was a large sounding board under which the speakers stood. Back of the stage were portraits of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. On the left of the stage was one of Jackson, hero of New Orleans. On the right of the presiding officer was a likeness of Alexander Hamilton, one of Colonel Roosevelt's political idols. At the farther end of the hall was a picture of Col Roosevelt, done in a halo of ivy wreath.

On the platform, occupying the front row of seats, was a G A R fife and drum corps. As they rattled off their old-time stirring war marches, a young man dressed in white, a son of a veteran and a boy scout waved large flags. When the veterans struck up "John Brown's body" the audience took it up and sang it with the spirit of anti-slavery days.

At 12.45 P M, Sen Dixon, National Chairman of the Progressive party, called the gathering to order. The size and the enthusiasm of the crowd assembled to assist in the birth of the new party was all that could be desired. Ex-Senator Beveridge of Indiana, "sounded the keynote" in an eloquent speech, radical enough for the Colonel and his friends. When Beveridge finished, the audience arose and cheered him for several moments. Some of the Senator's admirers declared that it was the greatest speech he had ever delivered.

The chair asked the band to play one stanza of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Everybody stood up and sang. But it was not until the chorus was reached that the full effect of the stirring song was felt:

"Glory, Glory, Hallelujah;
"Glory, Glory, Hallelujah;
"Glory, Glory, Hallelujah;
"His Truth is Marching on"

was repeated again and again, until it seemed as if the convention had resolved itself into a religious revival. The chair at first tried to break in and get the delegates to proceed to business, but had to give it up and allow the convention to sing itself out.

After a while, the convention got back to business, and began to call the roll for the purpose of recording the names of those selected for the various committees. The chair announced that the next business was the "experience" meeting as planned, but James R. Garfield of Ohio, son of the martyred President Garfield, moved the adoption of a resolution inviting Col Roosevelt to address the convention the next day and that the chair name a committee to escort him to the hall. The motion was carried and the convention then adjourned until noon the next day. On the afternoon of the following day Col Roosevelt appeared at the Coliseum and made his "Confession of Faith," as he called his speech on the occasion.

He told them, as they listened with intense interest and close attention, that there was never a fight better worth making than the one in which they were engaged; that win or lose there would be no faltering and that the fight would go on whatever fate overtook them. He explained that he cared nothing for the sneers of his opponents who charged him with preaching socialism and anarchy. The new party, he said, stood for a corrective for Socialism and an antidote for anarchy, by favoring the rule of the people. In the presence of 10,000 supporters, the Colonel, with head erect, fists clenched, defiant and militant as a crusader of old, concluded his 20,000 word address dramatically exclaiming:

"We stand at Armageddon and we battle for the Lord!"

A scene of wild enthusiasm followed. Cries of "Amen" could be faintly heard above the roar. He had thrown down the guage of battle to his opponents.

The message thrilled the vast throng. When the Colonel folded the printed copy of his address and tucked it away in his pocket there was more Roosevelt enthusiasm in the Coliseum than at any time since the new party began the work of organizing its first National convention. The Colonel's speech came after one of the most remarkable demonstrations ever seen in an American poiltical convention. For an hour after he stepped upon the stage of the hall the vast audience, which packed the great edifice from the floor to the roof, kept up a continual cheering, shouting and "mooing"—the official cheer

of the Bull Moose party—as proof of their willingness to follow the Ex-President.

Before the arrival of Col Roosevelt, the chair asked the Secretary to read a dispatch from "one of the greatest editors in the world," Col Nelson of the Kansas City Star." The Colonel said in his message, dated from his summer home at Magnolia, Massachusetts:

"Lord but I do wish I were with you. I never lost a chance to place a bet on him, Roosevelt, and I never lost a bet when there was a square deal."

Everybody then sang "America" and "Dixie." After this Chairman Beveridge informed the Convention that its distinguished guest, whom it had invited to address it was within its gates and would presently accept its invitation. "Moo-oo-oo," "Moo-oo-oo," "Hi Hi," "O You Teddy," came from 10,000 throats in every part of the great hall. The crowd didn't have to wait long. "Teddy" came bounding upon the stage like a defiant Bull Moose, while the other Moose uttered their moo-oo-ing welcome.

For one hour the pandemonium reigned. At times, exhausted by their efforts to keep up the din and roar of applause, the crowd stopped and sang the Bull Moose campaign songs. The delegates marched about the hall with their banners and the crowd in the galleries vied with them in the demonstration. Mrs. William A. Davis, the handsome Chicago woman who started the Roosevelt demonstration at the June convention in the same hall, and almost caused a riot in doing so, occupied a front seat on the right of the platform. She kept off her feet as long as she could, but after the roar and excitement had been going on 30 minutes she could not restrain her enthusiasm. She jumped up and started the cry, "We want Teddy, yes, we do."

Some of the delegates recognized her and for a few moments she was the cynosure of al eyes as soon as her identity became known. A man with a gilt Teddy Bear escorted her to the centre of the platform, where she was introduced to the Colonel. The meeting of the Colonel and his feminine admirer was the occasion for more applause. The band struck up "O, You Great Big Beautiful Doll" and the crowd was quick to catch on.

At the conclusion of Col Roosevelt's speech, Medill McCormick suggested that the last stanza of the campaign song,

"Roosevelt," set to the tune of "Maryland, My Maryland," be sung:

"I hear the distant thunder roar, Roosevelt, O Roosevelt;
"The Fife and drum and bugle corps, Roosevelt, O Roosevelt;
"Come to thine own heroic throng,
"That stalks with liberty along,
"And sing the dauntless slogan song, Roosevelt, O Roosevelt."
"Thou wilt never cower in the dust,
Roosevelt, O Roosevelt."

The Progressives early established their reputation as singers and amen shouters, causing Senator Dixon to remark, "My God, this is not politics. It's religion."

On August 7th the Bull Moose Presidential ticket was nominated, Col Roosevelt and Gov Johnson of California accepted their nominations in brief speeches. Col Roosevelt was nominated by William A. Prendergast of New York, who was to have performed the same duty at the Republican convention in June, delivering practically the same speech at the Progressive convention he would have delivered at the Republican convention, had he been permitted to place the Colonel's name before that convention.

After the convention had welcomed the nominees, a part of the band was brought to the platform and played the air of another Roosevelt song, while the delegates and the galleries sang it. The first verse ran:

"Thy gleaming sword shall never rust,
Roosevelt, O Roosevelt.
In thee we hail a leader just
In thee repose a sacred trust
To crush the powers of greed and lust
Roosevelt, O Roosevelt."

Just before they sang it a campaign banner bearing the likeness of the nominee and his associate was unfurled in front of the stage. The convention wanted more singing and again it sang "John Brown's Body" all through. The speeches of acceptance made, the convention ended at 7.20 P. M., after the singing of the doxology and the pronouncing of the benediction, followed by a chorus of amens.

From the Coliseum, the defiant Bull Moose went forth to devour the phlegmatic G O P Elephant with an occasional jab with his front feet at the Democratic Donkey.

CHAPTER XLI

STATE AND NATIONAL CAMPAIGNS OF 1912—ATTEMPT ON LIFE OF ROOSEVELT—BULL MOOSE BEATS OLD GUARD AT POLLS—DEMOCRATS SWEEP THE COUNTRY—MASSACHUSETTS REPUBLICANS RETAIN HOLD ON LEGISLATURE AND SENATORIAL ASPIRATIONS OF MAYOR FIZGERALD THWARTED—DEMOCRATS ELECT SECRETARY OF STATE.

THE State campaign this year was a three cornered contest for Governor. Dist Atty Pelletier of Suffolk county made it lively for the "Old Boy" in the Democratic primaries for the gubernatorial nomination. Pelletier went into the fight when Foss announced that he would not seek a third term. Later Mr. Foss changed his mind. Leading Democrats all over the State came to the rescue of Gov Foss and saw to it that he was renominated. John R. Murphy, a member of the Foss campaign committee published a list of the Governor's appointments in answer to the charge that Foss had not given the Democrats enough jobs. The list was as follows:

Judges—Charles A. DeCourcy of Lawrence, Joseph F. Quinn of Salem, John D. McLoughlin of Boston, John B. Ratigan of Worcester, Patrick M. Keating of Boston, Fred H. Chase of Boston, Nathan D. Pratt of Lowell, Thomas J. Enright of Lowell, Edward F. Hanify of Fall River, Gerald A. Healey of Canton, John J. Ryan of Haverhill, Charles S. Sullivan of Charlestown, Edward B. O'Brien of Marblehead, John C. Lynch of Milford, Michael J. Creed of South Boston, Thomas P. Riley of Malden, John E. Herlihy of Monson, Michael F. Kennedy of Natick, James P. Doran of Bedford, and William F. Merritt of Dorchester.

Clerks of Courts—William M. Murphy of Marlboro, Dennis C. Killeen of Housatonic, Daniel V. Mahoney of Lawrence, William F. Donovan of Boston, Luke F. Kelly of Middleboro, Thomas F. Conlin of Pittsfield, Patrick P. Pierce of Ipswich, Morgan J. McSweeney of Salem, and Daniel H. Bradley of Somerville.

Medical Examiners—William G. Kelliher of Woburn, James F. Cuddy of Athol, William J. Teehan of Holyoke, H. E. Doonan of South Hadley, John H. C. Gallagher of Chicopee, Louis E. Mannix of Chicopee Falls, Daniel P. O'Brien of New Bedford, John J. McNamara of Brockton, Thomas L. Gallagher of Newton, Fred B. Murphy of Attleboro, Andrew J. McGray of Taunton and Frank S. Buckley of Ayer.

Arthur Bogue, Register of Probate, Essex County; Richard P. Coughlin, Register of Probate, Bristol County; George P. O'Don-

nell District Attorney, Hampden County; John Quinn Jr, Sheriff of Suffolk County; and Patrick F. Sullivan of Lowell, chairman Industrial Accident Board of Trustees.

Workingmens' Compensation and Industrial Accident Board,, James B. Carroll, chairman, Springfield; Representative Joseph Parks of Fall River and Edward A. McSweeney of Boston.

State Board of Health: Eugene McGillicuddy of Worcester, at Mr. Pelletier's request, C. F. Coogan of Pittsfield and Joseph A. Plouff of Ware.

Highway Commission, James W. Synan of Pittsfield.

Railroad Commission, Fred J. Macleod, chairman, of Cambridge.

Supervisor of loan agencies, E. Gerry Brown of Brockton.

Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, Charles G. Wood of New Bedford.

Bank Commissioner, Augustus L. Thorndike of Boston.

Trustee of the Massachusetts General Hospital, Joseph H. O'Neil of Boston.

Excise Commission of Boston, Judge Josiah S. Dean of Boston.

Harbor and Land Commissioners, William S. McNary, chairman of South Boston and Judge Charles C. Paine of Hyannis.

Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, Thomas F. Boyle.

Member Board Conciliation and Arbitration, Lot F. McNamara of Haverhill; Railroad Commissioner, Garrett F. Droppers of Williamstown. Both refused confirmation by Republican Council.

Mr. Murphy added in his statement that in his opinion, the criticisms made of Gov Foss by Mr. Pelletier and the latter's supporters were without foundation. Speaking as a Democrat, Mr. Murphy said he believed that the Governor had given a just, liberal, progressive and Democratic administration. He objected to interjecting un-American issues into the campaign by the opposition to Gov Foss, especially religious issues and appeals to fraternal societies, meaning the Knights of Columbus in which Pelletier was an officer. Mr. Murphy stated that he had been asked whether he would be wiling to meet the District Attorney in debate on his record in office, and replied that he had grown conservative and had no desire to stand in the limelight, but that if the District Attorney would personally challenge him to discuss his administration of the district attorney's office, he would be very much pleased to do so.

The list was a pretty good showing from a party standpoint and helped Foss materially to win a renomination. Gov Foss figured prominently in settling the Elevated Railroad strike in July, which was another feather in his cap.

Joseph Walker and Everett C. Benton were the candidates for the Republican nomination. The former shied his castor into the ring late in June saying, in announcing his candidacy:

"The situation calls for self control and for clear vision. We must consider not alone the present; we must look also to the distant future. If our great political parties break up into hostile and warring factions our system of government itself will be seriously weakened.

"I now appeal to the progressive element in the Republican party in Massachusetts. Let us fight out our differences within the party. Let us strive to find some common ground upon which we can get together for the coming campaign.

"The Republicans of Massachusetts are truly progressive. Under the control of the Republican party, Massachusetts has already adopted the direct primary system. She was the first State in the Union to ratify the constitutional amendment which provides for the direct election of United States Senators.

"I believe that Republicans generally are ready to adopt the direct nomination of United States Senators and to place upon the statute books an effective corrupt practices act."

Mr Bird, the Bull Moose hand picked candidate, had no opposition. Gov Johnson of California came into the State and made two or three speeches for the Progressives. Gov Wilson of New Jersey paid a flying visit to Massachusetts, speaking at the Barre fair, Springfield, Boston and Fall River. In the September primaries, Gov Foss had a majority of 27,000 over Pelletier, and Walker won over Benton in the Republican primaries by about 10,000. All the defeated candidates accepted the decision of the voters gracefully and aided in the campaign of their party nominees. Members of the regular Republican organization reasoned that about 14,000 Progressives who usually voted in the Republican primary remained away from the polls. The combined vote of Joseph Walker and Col Benton was 14,000 less than the aggregate poll a year before of Louis Frothingham, Mr. Walker and Norman H. White. So the Republican machine leaders reasoned that the difference between the total vote of a year ago and that of this year represented the Bull Moose disaffection.

The Progressive managers maintained that more than 14,000 members of the third party declined to vote in the Republican primary because the vote for Col Benton was made up in large measure by ballots cast by business and professional men, who rarely attended primaries. The Progressives claimed that Col Benton's candidacy was favored by a large percentage of Republicans who, a year before, did not participate in the party nominations, and therefore a comparison of the vote of the two years was not an accurate basis for judging the strength of the Progressives.

Gov Foss received many letters and telegrams of con-

gratulation on his third Democratic nomination for Governor. The "Old Boy" was feeling fine the day following the primaries. Instead of giving out cigars as most winning politicians would, he sent for a box of candy which he offered to his visitors and called in the office force to share his chocolates and bonbons. He laughed and chatted with all who dropped in.

"Isn't it great, by George!" he exclaimed. "We had a good, spirited contest for the nomination, but I don't think it hurt the party a bit. In fact, I believe that it helped. It stirred the boys up, you know, got the blood coursing faster through their veins and showed that a Democratic nomination is no longer an ornament to hand out to the good boys in the political class.

"Joe," added the Governor, speaking of his opponent, Dist Atty. Pelletier, "did the manly thing in a manly way and offered to do all he could for the Democratic success in November. It means that we shall go forward as a united party and sweep the State with our ticket, electing ten or more Congressmen and the Legislature, insuring a Progressive Democratic Senator to succeed Senator Crane in the United States Senate. We shall carry the State for Wilson and Marshall. I'm certain of that."

David I. Walsh was renominated for Lieutenant Governor on the ticket with Foss. Lieut Gov Luce was renominated by the Republicans and Daniel Cosgrove was named by the Progressives as Bird's running mate. Cosgrove, had always voted the Democratic ticket.

President Taft, who summered at Beverly, remained later than usual this year and on Sept. 28th addressed the Essex County Republican Clubs on the lawn of Paramatta, his summer home. His campaigning this year was done from his front porch and lawn at Beverly.

What he had to say of the Bull Moose party was interesting.

"A third party," said he, "has split off from the Republican party, not for any principle, but merely to gratify personal ambition and vengeance, and in the gratification of that personal ambition and vengeance, every new fad and theory, some of them good, some of them utterly preposterous and impracticable, some of them Socialistic as any that have been proposed in the countries of Europe, many having no relation to National jurisdiction or policy, have been crowded into a platform in order to tempt the votes of enthusiastic supporters of each of these proposed reforms.

"This new party is not united on any cohesive principle, and is only kept together by the remarkable personality of its leader. Were he to die the party would go to pieces, for 'The Cause,' of which so many glibly speak is utterly incapable of definition in view of the crazy-quilt character of the platform.

"But there is running through the entire declared policy of the

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President Taft Greeting Chairman Hatfield, Republican State Committee of Massachusetts, at Notification Ceremonies, White House, August 3, 1912.

third party an entire willingness to destroy every limitation of constitutional representative government, in order that by short cuts these various reforms inconsistent as they may be, and many of them are, with each other, may be accomplished by the decree of a benevolent despotism to be supported by the acclaim of a hero-worshipping, emotional, undiscriminating, superficially minded and non-thinking people."

The Democratic and Republican State convention were held in Boston Oct. 6. Senator Lodge was the presiding officer of the Republican convention. He condemned the initiative and referendum and the general attack on the constitution and the courts and declared that there were worse things than defeat. Said the Senator in his speech to the delegates:

"The initiative and referendum is merely a scheme to enable minorities to rule and to compel legislatures to pass laws. The total vote at the last presidential election was in round numbers 15,000,000 and the population of the United States was 90,000,000. That is, one-sixth of the people took part in the Presidential election and one-twelfth determined the result. The voters are not the people. They are merely the necessary instrument selected for the expression of the popular will. But they are not the people; they are the representatives and trustees.

"The other great bulwark of freedom has been the courts; yet it is proposed to deprive them of their independence. Whether a court is subservient to a king or a body of voters it is a servile court and does not interpret law to be what someone else wants.

"The independent judiciary of the United States and of England, too, taken as a whole and allowing for all the failures and defects incident to fallible human nature, has been the most potent defense and protection of the liberty of the individual man and of the rights of minorities against the oppression of majorities.

"This agitation is directed against the representative and judicial branches of government, not against the executive, and it is inevitable that such should be the case.

"Constitutional government moves too slowly to suit some people who wish to convert it into an instrument for the quick satisfaction of their own desires and aspirations, which may be either beneficial or hurtful to the people at large. For this reason they would substitute for it a government which consists simply of the voters and the Executive. Go back 50 years and you find an example of a government of that sort in the Third Napoleon with his empire based on plebiscite.

"There are worse things than defeat. To sacrifice principles and cast aside convictions is worse. Not failure but low aim is crime. Those who battle for the right will snatch victory from the jaws of defeat and from the nettle danger pluck the flower of safety. We fought against the extension of slavery in 1856 and lost. But we stood firm to our principles and in 1860 we won. For four years we did battle for the Union and for the constitution, which made the Union and again we won. Once more we are called upon to defend the constitution. That duty is our greatest heritage and our noblest hope. The cause of ordered liberty, of government by the people, and of human rights is ours and we shall be victorious under the standard of the constitution which passed triumphant through the

ordeal of civil war. We will fight the good fight once more, even as our fathers did, and once more we shall win."

The platform adopted began with the statement that a change of party administration in the Nation would threaten prosperity, supported President Taft, reaffirmed devotion to the protective tariff "which shall maintain American wages,and provide an adequate standard of living and provides annual employment for 600,000 persons in Massachusetts at wages higher than in other countries."

A readjustment of tariff schedules and reduction of excessive rates was favored based on "exact information." A demand was made for an international investigation of the causes of the high cost of living, and support was promised to every proper endeavor to reduce the cost.

Popular recall of judges or of judicial decisions, as well as demonstrations to influence the actions of courts, were denounced as dangerous and un-American. The movement in Lawrence to give prominence to the American flag was approved. The initiative and referendum, as generally understood, was opposed. It was recommended that the Corrupt Practices Act be amended to prevent the excessive use of money at elections.

It was proposed that the Railroad Commission be given mandatory powers, that the Gas and Electric Light Commission assume supervision over the telegraph and telephone companies, that the budget system in making State appropriations be adopted.

An extension of agricultural and industrial education was urged, conservation of the State's natural resources and encouragement of the farmer and furthering of his interests as far as practicable.

The Legislature was recommended to submit again to the voters the question of woman suffrage. All the State officers were commended and the voters were asked to elect a Republican Legislature in order that a Republican Senator might be chosen.

Mayor Fitzgerald of Boston had announced his candidacy for the U S Senate early in the summer, when Senator Crane gave it out that he would not be a candidate for re-election. Fitzgerald was very active and prominent in the Democratic campaign this year.

When Gov Wilson was in Massachusetts, Matthew Hale,

the Progressive leader and Bull Moose law giver, sent to the papers a demand that the Democratc Presidential candidate repudiate Fitzgerald as a candidate, for the Senate, but Gov Wilson didn't do any repudiating and it is doubtful if he ever saw the Hale letter.

There was no clipping of the wings of the dove of peace at Faneuil Hall when "the unterrified and embattled Democracy of Massachusetts," as described by the blind senator from Oklahoma, Thomas P. Gore, met in State convention to nominate 18 electors and choose 16 members-at-large of the State Committee. Encouraged by the compliments and encomiums of Senator Gore, who observed that "no Walker could walk fast enough or bird fly swift enough to pass Gov Foss on his third marathon race for the gubernatorial chair," the party leaders were willing, yes anxious, to sacrifice almost anything for the sake of harmony.

And this spirit was not confined to any faction. Ex-Congressman Kelliher willingly accepted the redraft of his resolution limiting the activities of the chairman of the State Committee in primaries, with the same grace that Chairman Riley and Mayor Fitzgerald yielded and acknowledged the fairness of the contention of Dist Atty Pelletier, that his two special friends on the State Committee, Dr. "Tay Pay" Sullivan of Fall River and Leon F. Eyges of Brookline, were and of right ought to be continued as members although the original program was to oust them.

Gov Foss was unable to be present because of a previous engagement of long standing at the Palmer Fair, where he had a chance to talk to more Republicans than Senator Lodge addressed at the Republican State convention in Tremont Temple.

Mayor Fitzgerald was the presiding officer of the State convention. He was hailed as "the next U S Senator." His speech was a severe arraignment of the Republican party and of Theodore Roosevelt. His main point was his assertion that both President Taft and Col Roosevelt were controlled by men of great financial power, who had been allowed to gain their enormous wealth while the country was under the control of the Republican party. He used the panic of 1907 as an example of business under Republican government, and pointed out that while Roosevelt was in the President's chair, nevertheless President Taft was as much a figure in the affairs of the

day as other members of the Roosevelt cabinet. The Mayor claimed that the present prosperity was not real, but was produced by the men of Wall Street in order that Mr. Taft could claim that his term was closing in a period of good times.

On Oct. 14 came the shocking news that an assassin had endeavored to take the life of Col Roosevelt, while he was campaigning in Wisconsin. Partizanship was laid aside and the efforts of the campaigners slackened, until it was discovered that the wounds were not fatal. The shooting kept the Colonel off the stump until the night of Oct. 30, when he addressed a monster gathering at Madison Sq Garden, New York.

Fitzgerald's senatorial candidacy was a favorite target for the Republicans and the Moose in the campaign. Both figured that there was votes in attacking Fitzgerald.

Col Roosevelt was unable to come to Massachusetts during the campaign but on his return to Oyster Bay, after his discharge from the Chicago hospital, where he had been under treatment for his pistol wounds, he wrote a letter asking for the support of the Massachusetts Progressive State ticket of which the following is a copy:

"Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay, N. Y.,
October 25, 1912.

"The Progressive ticket in Massachusetts includes men who have been formerly connected with the Republican party, and men who have been connected with the Democratic party.

"It includes men of different races and different creeds, all knit together by the common bond of fervent zeal for the cause of good citizenship and for the great fundamental underlying principles of our American life.

"Massachusetts has had a great and honorable career in the past. She has taken the lead in every movement for the welfare of this Nation ever since the days when men of the 13 colonies sent their representatives to the first Continental Congress. I earnestly hope that she will now continue to hold the position of leadership and she can only do so and prove true to her heroic past by heartily throwing herself into the great progressive movement of today.

"Charles Sumner Bird and his colleagues on the State ticket stand for essentially the same cause, the cause of human rights, for which the men of Massachusetts stood in 1861; and by every great memory of Massachusetts' past I appeal to her people to support the Progressive cause in the present.

Faithfully yours,
"Theodore Roosevelt."

The campaign continued without a let up until election day, Nov. 5. Massachusetts broke all political precedents joining the triumphant Democratic column, giving her eighteen electoral votes to Woodrow Wilson.

She also elected for a third term her Democratic Governor, by a plurality of about 45,000, chose a Democratic Lieutenant Governor, David I. Walsh, who defeated Lieut Gov Robert Luce by nearly 40,000 plurality and increased her Democratic Congressional delegation.

President Taft was second in the Presidential race and Joseph Walker, Republican candidate for Governor, led Charles S. Bird, Progressive. The Republican vote was split almost in half between the Progressives and the Republicans. In the avalanche of votes the Democrats elected their candidate for Secretary of State, Frank J. Donahue, over Albert P. Langtry by a plurality of 4576. The Democrats increased their representation in the Legislature and few Bull Moose candidates succeeded in getting in. Although the Republicans elected nine Congressmen and the Democrats elected seven, the total Republican vote in the 16th districts fell 8027 behind the total Democratic vote.

The Democratic total was 195,790 and the Republican total 187,763. In 15 districts Progressives polled a total of 93,665. The Progressives failed to get in a Congressional ticket in the 11th District through an insufficiency of names on nomination papers. The biggest Republican vote was polled by Congressman Roberts, in the 9th district. The biggest Democratic vote was polled in the 11th district, where Andrew J. Peters was re-elected.

The biggest Bull Moose vote was in the 14th, where Kincaide was the Congressional candidate, with 11,341. The second biggest Progressive vote was 9131 polled by Herbert in the 9th and 9001 polled by Connolly in the 12th.

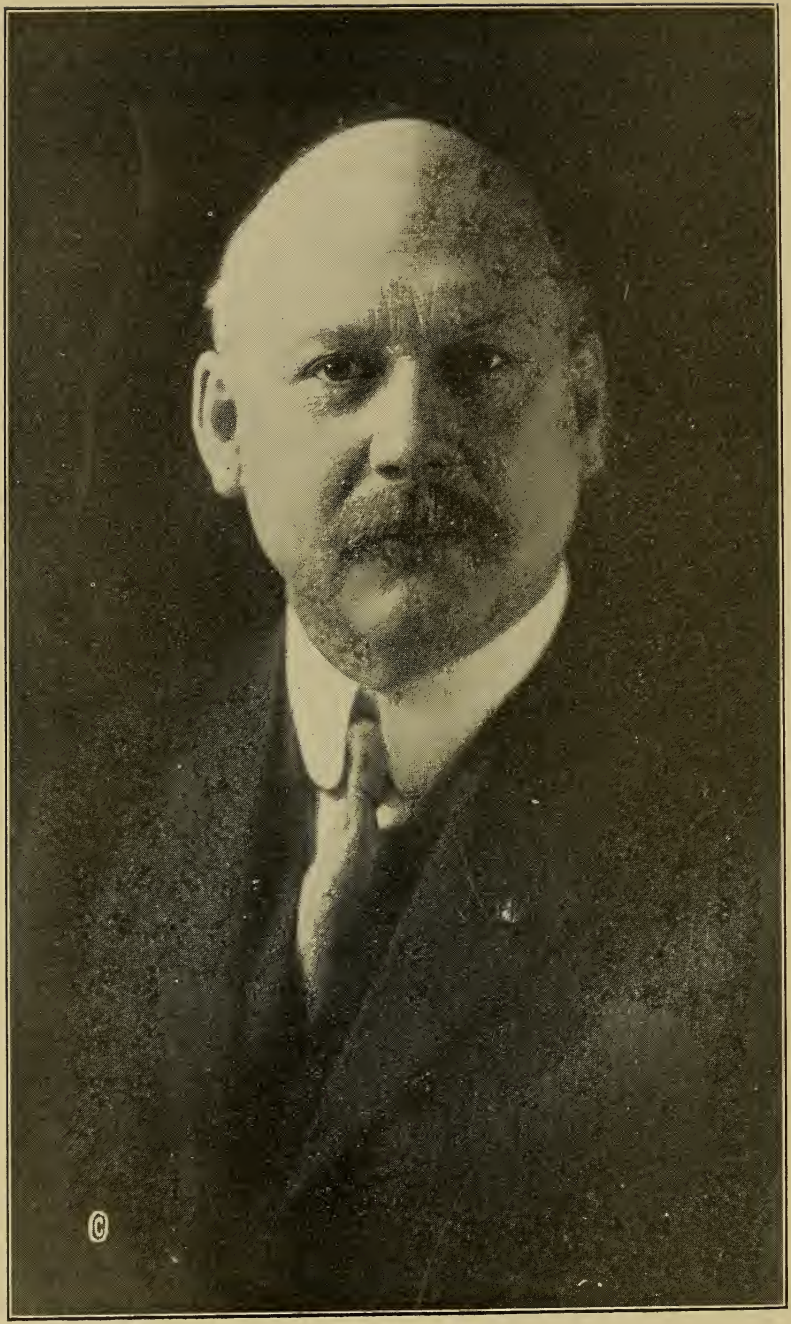
The Congressmen elected and their districts were: 1st—Allen T. Treadway, R; 2nd—F. H. Gillett, R; 3rd—William H. Wilder, R; 4th—Samuel E. Winslow, R; 5th—John J. Rogers, R; 6th—A. P. Gardner, R; 7th—Michael F. Phelan, D; 8th—Frederick S. Deitrick, D; 9th—E. W. Roberts, R; 10th—William F. Murray, D; 11th—Andrew J. Peters, D; 12th—James J. Curley, D; 13th—John W. Weeks, R; 14th—Edward Gilmore, D; 15th—William S. Greene, R; 16th—Thomas C. Thacher, D.

The complexion of the Legislature was Republican. That, of course, ended Mayor Fitzgerald's plans to succeed Senator Crane. The Republicans had 54 majority in the joint convention and a half dozen Republican candidates began to get busy to capture the Senatorial prize.

The vote of the State for President was: Roosevelt, 141,-925; Taft, 156,018; Wilson, 174,057; Wilson's plurality, 18.039.

The vote for Governor was: Foss, 192,764; Walker, 143,-448; Bird, 125,883; Foss' plurality, 49,316.

Wilson had 435 electoral votes in the country, Roosevelt 88, while Taft had only eight, Utah and Vermont. The control of Congress passed to the Democrats.



Senator Weeks.

CHAPTER XLII

CONGRESSMAN WEEKS CHOSEN SENATOR TO SUCCEED W. MURRAY CRANE AFTER A HARD FIGHT, DEFEATING SAMUEL W. McCALL—DEMOCRATS DIVIDE THEIR VOTE AMONG A SCORE OF CANDIDATES—DEMOCRATS ELECT MITCHELL TO CONGRESS IN WEEKS' PLACE —SENATE FIGHT LEAVES SCARS.

IN May, 1912, Senator Crane surprised the people of the State by announcing that he would not be a candidate for re-election. His term would expire March 3, 1913. In announcing his retirement from the Senate Mr. Crane said:

"Some months ago I definitely decided not to become a candidate for re-election as United States Senator, but I intended to defer making a statement to that effect until after the Republican National convention.

"There is, however, a proposition pending in the Massachusetts Legislature for the nomination of United States Senators, substantially similar to the existing law relating to the nominations of candidates for the Presidency, Representatives in Congress and State elective offices.

"If the proposed law is enacted a much earlier campaign for this office will be necessary and I, therefore, make known my position at this time in order that those who may be interested in becoming candidates may have the fullest opportunity to have their candidacies considered.

"In making public my decision not to become a candidate again I wish to assure the people of Massachusetts of my deep appreciation of the loyal support and confidence, which they have always given me."

The same edition of the papers which carried Senator Crane's retirement contained Mayor Fitzgerald's announcement of his candidacy for Senator Crane's seat. Mr. Fitzgerald said that he expected that the primary preference bill would be passed by the Legislature and that he would go into every part of the State in his campaign. The primary preference bill was defeated and the State witnessed one of the hottest kind of campaigns among the Republicans for the seat to be vacated by Senator Crane.

The saving of the Legislature was the only consolation which the Massachusetts Republicans derived from the election

returns in November, 1912. To accomplish this the Republicans bent all their energies and used all their personal and political influences. The repeal of the Bar and Bottle bill, the annexation of the cities and towns in Metropolitan Boston and the repeal of the Boston City Charter Amendments, were pictured in a circular sent out to those sections of the State where the Republican managers believed such an appeal would be the most effective. They also pictured the election of Mayor Fitzgerald as Senator Crane's successor. To the latter possibility, they attributed their success in retaining control of the Legislature more than any other issue.

The control of the Legislature by a large majority not only insured the Republicans of the election of the United States Senator, but the Speakership of the House, the Presidency of the Senate, and the patronage which went with those offices. With the assurance that the next Legislature was safely Republican, the Republican candidates for the United States Senate, Congressman John W. Weeks, Ex-Gov Eben S. Draper, Congressman Samuel W. McCall, Curtis Guild Jr and William B. Plunkett of Adams, did not permit any grass to sprout under their feet and immediately started their campaigns, to secure the Republican nomination to succeed Senator Crane.

There was considerable talk that Senator Crane might be induced to stand for re-election and some of his admirers insisted that he would receive quite a number of votes in the Republican caucus unless he positively and emphatically instructed the Republican members of the Legislature to desist in voting for him.

Congressman Weeks' victory in the 13th Congressional district, where he won over a popular Democrat, John J. Mitchell of Marlboro, notwithstanding that the Bull Moose candidate received more than 5000 votes, was regarded by his friends as an extraordinary personal tribute to him. Mr. Weeks mailed a letter to the Republican members-elect of the Massachusetts Legislature the night after the election, calling their attention to his candidacy for the United States Senate, in which he said:

"As the statement has been frequently made in the press that I was to be a candidate for the United States Senate to succeed Senator Crane I have assumed that all candidates for the Legislature would have ample notification to that effect, but even if this were

not so I have been so solicitous that the Legislature should be Republican, without any regard to my candidacy or the candidacy of any other individual, that it seemed to me to be best not to complicate with any personal appeal the effort to bring about that result.

"For that reason I have limited such activities as I have been able to give the State campaign to the election of a Republican Legislature which, I think, is now assured. Therefore it is entirely proper to write you that I shall be glad to have your support in the Senatorial contest, and, in any case, I hope you will give me an opportunity to talk with you before you commit yourself to any other candidate.

Yours very truly
JOHN W. WEEKS."

Ex-Gov Guild, then the American Ambassador at St. Petersburg, happened to be home on department business when Senator Crane announced his decision to retire from the Senate. Repeated urgings on the part of his friends to become a candidate, brought forth an affirmative reply, in which he said:

"I could not consent to be the candidate of a clique, a faction or a class. Moreover, if it should happen that Massachusetts should honor me by another call to office, I should consider myself free to follow the liberal policies for which I tried to stand as Governor.

"I am content with my present work. I have been fortunate enough to accomplish some things. I hope to accomplish more, and the fact that grave difficulties lie in the path of accomplishing everything that might be desired, is an added reason, why I should hesitate to surrender my present duty.

"We do not know now, we shall not know until after the National conventions on what lines the National contest will be waged. Therefore, we do not know at present which man may or may not later prove most available as Republican candidate for Senator in the contest."

Mr. Guild returned to his diplomatic post in Russia and made no campaign for the senatorship. William B. Plunkett announced that he was against the "Old Guard" methods and machinations and that he favored "progressive legislation." Ex-Gov Draper formally entered the senatorial contest early in December, claiming to be a Progressive, backing that claim up with published endorsements of him by Ex-President Roosevelt.

But the most formidable candidate to take the field against Mr. Weeks was Samuel W. McCall who had declined to stand for re-election to Congress after twenty years service. Mr. McCall, like Mr. Weeks and the others, was eminently fitted for the office. Like all the rest he measured up to the statesman's standard. Each was worthy to represent

the State. Mr. McCall's qualifications for the Senatorship were well summed up in a public statement in his behalf issued by Ex-Atty Gen Herbert Parker who said:

"In experience and in intimate knowledge in the interests and of the sentiments of our Commonwealth, none is better qualified than Mr. McCall. The active, responsible and influential participation in all important National legislation for the past 20 years, has established his high reputation throughout the Nation, nor has any interest of his own State suffered for a moment while he has attained this wider distinction.

"Careful, exact student of our industrial, commercial and financial affairs, he is surpassed by no man in public life in his power of exact analysis of these conditions. Of scholarly attainments and widely informed by familiarity with the best teachings of the literature of all times, he speaks with the modesty of real learning and without pedantry or presumption. In the direct phrase of his own thought he speaks with an eloquence that appeals no less to the heart than to the minds of his people.

"His ideals of public service give no consideration to questions of personal ambition or of political preferment. To him the State and the Nation are not merely organizations for the projection of advancement of the material welfare of the people, though no one is quicker than he to guard these interests. I believe, beyond other men of my acquaintance, he is animated by the high purpose of maintaining the true faith of the Republic, and humbly, but with the unfaltering courage of his faith, to uphold the highest traditions of the Commonwealth and to present to the people the highest conceptions of a Republican government."

Mr. Weeks' friends were well distributed throughout the State. His service in Congress has been memorable. Not in many years had a member of the House secured so high a standing in so short a time. He was looked upon as the best authority in the House on financial questions. As a graduate of Annapolis and a volunteer naval officer in the Spanish War, his word went farther in naval legislation than that of any other. Speaker Cannon had made him Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, because of his hard sense and personal popularity and he had shaped and passed progressive legislation for conservation and for the farmer which had long been delayed. As Chairman of the Post Office Committee he framed and passed the law creating the Postal Savings Bank; and had to his credit the record of having put through both House and Senate a great Post Office appropriation bill exactly as it came from his committee without the change of a word—a legislative feat unparalleled in the history of Congress. He stood then as now high among national leaders. Those who knew his strength and courage and his unselfish

readiness to subordinate his personal fortunes to the good of his party and the country were rejoiced at the prospect that he might have a larger career in the Senate. It was regarded too as greatly to his credit that in the year of party disaffection when the election of any Republican candidate for the House was uncertain, he had with true sporting spirit taken the chance of spoiling his chance for a political future by hazarding everything on the result in his own district—simply because in that way he could help increase the vote for his associates on the Republican ticket. As he was to be a candidate for the Senate political expediency would have prompted him not to run for the House that year; but he was wise in this—that he knew in order for any Republican to be elected Senator there must be a Republican majority in the Legislature and without regard to who might be chosen he devoted himself with singleness of purpose to the election of Republicans to the Senate and the House. The very evidence of his political strength as proved by his re-election to Congress was used against him. One of the most difficult arguments his friends had to meet was that his promotion to the Senate would leave a vacancy in his district, and that no other Republican could hope to carry it at that time; while Mr. McCall's election would create no vacancy, a Democratic Congressman having already been chosen in his place.

The contest developed feeling as it progressed. Joseph Walker who had been the Republican candidate for Governor came out in an open statement against Mr. Weeks, basing his opposition on the declaration that Mr. Weeks was not sufficiently progressive. The latter had declined to get into controversies or make public statements, but he now broke silence. He said he was surprised at the character of the attack made upon him by Mr. Walker as he had supposed his political course had Mr. Walker's approval. As one reason for this belief he had regretfully showed his friends who urged him to make a reply the following letter:

Boston, November 11, 1912.

"Dear Mr. Weeks:—I am writing to thank you personally for the support which you gave me in the campaign, which has just ended. I also wish to express my most sincere congratulations upon your election to Congress. I feel that you deserve it, and although I knew you had a hard fight, I did not for one moment believe that you would lose.

Sincerely yours,
Joseph Walker."

When the Legislature assembled, Jan. 2, 1913, there was a meeting of the Republican members. It was voted to hold a conference on the Senatorship. A conference would not be binding like a party caucus, and some sturdy Republicans like Ex-Mayor Joseph N. Peterson of Salem raised the objection that it would be possible for a few disgruntled Republicans to combine with the Democrats and elect a Republican Senator not acceptable to the entire Republican party.

On Jan 6, 150 of the 169 Republican members of the Legislature met and voted to hold a senatorial conference the following afternoon. The McCall, Draper and Guild men, headed by Senator Claude L. Allen of Melrose, an avowed McCall supporter, forced through a motion declaring that it was the sense of the conference that the nominee of the caucus should have the votes of two-thirds of 141 members, the latter being the number of votes necessary to elect a Senator. One hundred and thirty-one members assented on a roll call to the calling of a caucus. The clerk of the conference was instructed to see those not recorded and endeavor to get their assent to the calling of the caucus.

As the time approached when a caucus would be sure to be called, McCall's strength increased. Mr. McCall handed out with pardonable pride, and no little pleasure, a copy of a letter Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, wrote Senator Stearns of Cambridge, urging him to vote for McCall. Stearns said after receiving the letter, that he would vote for McCall.

No candidate was able to muster the 94 votes required under the conference two-thirds rule at the first session. After six futile ballots the caucus adjourned at 3 P M the next day, Samuel W. McCall led on every ballot. His nearest competitor was John W. Weeks, whose supporters were confident before the balloting began that he would lead. McCall received 63 votes on the first ballot and Weeks 56. Guild got one more vote on the first ballot than Ex-Gov Draper. The poor showing made by Draper was a surprise.

On the second ballot McCall jumped to 71 and Weeks increased his vote to 61. Weeks now gained steadily. On the fourth ballot he had 68 votes, McCall 72. On the fifth ballot McCall had 73, Weeks lost one. The only change on the sixth ballot was the loss of one vote by McCall and the re-entrance of Plunkett in the race. Speaker Cushing gave the Guild,

Weeks and Draper men a shock when he voted for McCall. Up to the time that his name was called he had refused to say whom he would vote for, but some enthusiastic McCall men couldn't keep the secret and let it out a minute or two before the caucus was called to order. The Guild men felt that Cushing ought to have voted for their candidate, as he came from the Ambassador's ward. His colleague, Courtney Crocker, also voted for McCall.

By Jan 10, 22 ballots had been taken with the same result. McCall led Weeks. The voting on the 22nd ballot was as follows:

Total number of ballots cast	157
Necessary for choice	94
McCall	73
Weeks	71
Guild	9
Draper	2
Lawrence	2

Following the announcement of this vote, the caucus adjourned to meet again on Monday. The Republican State Committee took a hand and endeavored to break the deadlock, issuing an appeal to the Republican legislators reading as follows:

"Deprecating the present situation of deadlock at the Republican Legislative caucus, the Republican State Committee through its legislative committee respectfully urges upon the several Senatorial candidates and the Republican members of the Legislature the fact that a continuance of this situation is not for the best interests of the party.

"It further suggests that it is of the greatest importance that this situation be relieved on Monday next by the nomination of a candidate whom all Republicans shall support at the joint convention on Tuesday next, to the end that the United States Senator to be chosen at the election now pending shall be the choice of the Republican party of Massachusetts upon whom the responsibility rests

"We believe that such action upon the part of the Republican majority of the Legislature will be for the best interests of the Republican party and of the Commonwealth."

On Monday the caucus balloted again and on the 31st ballot Weeks got 97 votes and was declared the Republican nominee. That meant that the Senatorship would go to him.

The Democrats were "watching and waiting" from the day of the first session of the Republican caucus. Representative John F. Meany of Blackstone had a long talk with Gov

Foss. When he left the Governor, Meany announced that he would introduce, in the House, a bill providing for the Oregon plan for the nomination of a United States Senator and ask for a suspension of all rules, that the bill might become a law at the earliest possible moment. Under this bill the joint primary would be held Feb. 5. Only 25 names would be necessary for a candidate's name to go upon the ballot. Whoever received the highest vote would be the nominee and members of the Legislature would be morally bound to vote for him, whether he was Republican, Democrat or Progressive.

The day that Weeks was nominated Meany moved that the Committee on Election Laws be directed to report not later than 12 o'clock Wednesday on his petition for legislation to provide for a Senatorial primary. He said it was not necessary to say much in explanation of the motion, as the bill provided that the people be given an opportunity to choose their own Senator, first in preferential primary and later in a preferential election.

But the Republicans ignored his request and waited until after they had agreed on their Senator before acting, when they reported "leave to withdraw" and the report was accepted. The same afternoon on which the Republicans nominated Weeks as their senatorial candidate, the Democrats held their caucus.

After one of the stormiest meetings ever held at the State House the Democrats nominated as their choice for United States Senator Sherman L. Whipple of Brookline. The feeling of the contending factions ran so high that at times there was great disorder. For about three hours the battle waged, Representative Martin M. Lomasney leading the forces for a nominee and a caucus. Representative Lomasney got his nominee, but he got him only after a very substantial bolt headed by Representative Meany, and he failed by 10 votes to get a caucus. The meeting was attended by 101 of the 107 Democratic members of the Legislature. Representative Meany claimed that more than 40 bolted with him. The main issue before the gathering—for at no stage could it be termed either a conference or a caucus—was whether the Democrats should proceed to deliberate as a "conference" which would have no binding force as to a choice of a Senatorial candidate, or whether they would have a caucus which would bind the participants.

William B. Plunkett.

Albert P. Langtry.

Charles E. Hatfield.

William H. Brooks.

Mayor Fitzgerald and his senatorial aspirations were early made an incidental issue, which at times provoked heated outbursts. A discussion of the mayor brought on a warm debate as to the relative merits of the city and the country Democrats. Each brand had its champion.

The election of Weeks, assured by the result of the Republican caucus, was made certain by the action of the two Legislative branches. Pursuant to the provisions of the Revised Statutes of the United States, the branches met in their respective chambers Jan 14th, for the purpose of electing a Senator. What looked like a long drawn-out task a week before, was made comparatively easy by the action of the Republican caucus on Monday in getting together on the 31st ballot. Each chose Weeks. The vote for United States Senator in the Senate was:

Total vote cast	39
Necessary for choice	20
John W. Weeks of Newton	26
Sherman L. Whipple of Brookline	11
John A. Keliher, Boston	1
Joseph C. Pelletier, Boston	1

The only absentee in the Senate was Senator Mack, of North Adams, a Democrat.

The vote in the House for United States Senator was:

Total vote cast	233
Necessary for choice	117
John W. Weeks, Newton	134
Sherman L. Whipple, Brookline	69
John Graham Brooks, Cambridge	5
John F. Meany, Blackstone	3
James B. Carroll, Springfield	3
Charles A. DeCourcey, Lawrence	3
Charles S. Hamlin, Boston	2
John Alden Thayer, Worcester	2
John F. Fitzgerald, Boston	2
Andrew J. Peters, Boston	1
Robert Luce, Somerville	1
Philip J. O'Connell, Worcester	1
Richard Olney 2nd, Dedham	1
John P. Sweeney, Methuen	1
Harvey H. Pratt, Scituate	1
George Fred Williams, Dedham	1
Rev. Roland D. Sawyer, Ware	1
Curtis Guild, Boston	1
Joseph H. O'Neil, Boston	1

Death having claimed two members of the House, the total membership was 238. Of these 233 voted Monday.

Representative Lydon of Boston, was recorded "present but not voting." The absentees were Ferguson of Millbury, Hurlburt of Worcester and Wood of Gardner, Republicans, and William P. O'Brien of Boston, Democrat.

In the Senate Congressman Weeks secured the entire 26 Republican votes. In the House, of the 136 Republicans voting, he secured all but those of Naphen of Natick, who voted for Guild, and Cowls of Amherst who, though he attended Monday's Republican caucus, voted for Luce. Naphen declined to attend the Republican caucus.

Of the 14 Democratic members of the Senate, Mr. Whipple secured 11. Of the other three Mack was absent, William P. Hickey of Suffolk voted for Pelletier and Thomas M. Joyce for Keliher. From the 91 Democrats voting in the House Mr. Whipple secured 69 votes. The other 22 were scattered.

The five Bull Moosers voted for John Graham Brooks of Cambridge. The Socialist member, Representative Morrill of Haverhill, cast his vote for Rev Roland D. Sawyer of Ware.

Mr. McCall and some of his friends were piqued over his defeat. He did not send the customary congratulations to his successful opponent. He did, however, send this message to his friends through the press:

"I wish from the bottom of my heart to thank my friends in the Legislature whose superb loyalty and devotion will forever be to me a source of pride. Their course will seem luminous hereafter, not because they favored me, but because there could have been no other bond uniting them than a sincere desire for the public welfare.

"Such support from such men confers a dignity which no mere office can give. It sweetens life and robs defeat of any possible bitterness.

"I wish also to thank most heartily my many friends throughout the Commonwealth, many more than I suspected I possessed, for the favors they so freely bestowed."

Right on the heels of the election of Weeks came the news that Joseph Walker had flopped to the Bull Moose party. Mr. Walker cited the election of Weeks to the United States Senate as evidence that "the Republican party in Massachusetts is to be permanently dominated by the old reactionary leadership" and that "we have arrived at the parting of the ways." As a Progressive, he said he felt there was no longer a place for him in the Republican party. He therefore renounced allegiance to that party, to join the Progressive party and recommended all Progressives in the State to follow his course. How thoroughly they ignored Walker's advice we shall see later.

Weeks resigned his seat in Congress. A special election was held April 15 to fill the vacancy. The Democrats nominated John J. Mitchell, the candidate who made the fight against Weeks in the Fall. The Republicans nominated Alfred L. Cutting of Weston, and Norman H. White of Brookline was the Bull Moose candidate. Mitchell won, the vote being: Mitchell, 13,134; Cutting, 8, 742; White, 5,503; Mitchell's plurality, 4392.

Since he has been in the Senate, Mr. Weeks has made a record for effectiveness and usefulness to the State and to the country not surpassed by any other Senator. Although in the minority he has exercised great influence in shaping legislation. To him more than to any other man are due the beneficial features of the Federal Reserve Law. He has led and organized the Republican minority in opposition to dangerous measures passed by the House at the dictation of the Wilson administration and has compelled many changes in the public interest. He is recognized nationally as one of the great and strong men in Washington, and as he is still among the younger leaders he has long years of constantly increasing usefulness before him.

CHAPTER XLIII

FOSS' THIRD TERM—INDICATIONS OF HIS INTENTION TO BREAK WITH THE DEMOCRATS—SENDS TARIFF MESSAGE TO THE LEGISLATURE—ROUNDLY DENOUNCED BY DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATORS.

BEFORE a large and representative gathering, and in the presence of the Legislature in joint convention assembled, Mr Foss was sworn in for the third time as Governor, Jan 3, 1913. For the first time since the existence of the Republican party, a Democrat was sworn in as Lieutenant Governor. David I. Walsh of Fitchburg was the new figure on Beacon Hill this year. Prolonged cheers greeted the Chief Executive and his colleague. Directly after the oath of office had been administered by President Greenwood of the Senate, the Governor began the reading of his inaugural message, which dealt almost exclusively with the transportation problems. Summed up his railroad recommendations were:

End monopoly of New Haven road, but not by buying the Boston & Maine. No one but the New Haven would buy it.

Pass law allowing Governor to name a certain number of Directors on every railroad in the State, and allowing the State to buy certain shares of stock of these roads.

Make New Haven and Boston and Maine railroads build adequate connections in Greater Boston, if they are not competing lines. Remove from the statutes of the State the law authorizing the incorporation of the Boston Holding Railroad Company, a disgrace to the Commonwealth.

Control the railroads so that they will cease to control the State, for if this is not done government ownership of the railroads will surely result, but such a move as government ownership has a great many advantages.

Give the Port Directors $50,000,000 to spend; they need it, for the railroad terminals must be made effective as part of Boston's seaport development; connecting tunnels must be provided where needed, and the principal seaport must be made ready for the work of placing New England once more on the commercial map.

He asked the Legislature to do these things also:

Pass a law so that the successor of Senator Crane will be elected by the people.

Pass laws abolishing party enrollment and providing for the initiative, referendum, and recall, as these recommendations received the indorsement of the people at the last election.

Develop the Connecticut, Taunton and Merrimac rivers, and memorialize Congress to open the Panama Canal free of tolls to the ships of all Nations.

Both presiding officers, Speaker Cushing in the House, and President Greenwood in the Senate, had announced their committee appointments, and the Legislature, under the guidance of the seasoned members, was ready for business as soon as the inaugural ceremonies were over.

Gov Foss' first special message to the Legislature dealt with the number of pardons granted in 1912. He had been criticised for exercising the pardoning power so freely. Of the number released 31 were from the State Prison, 22 from the Massachusetts Reformatory, 28 from Houses of Correction, 14 from the Womens' Reformatory, 1 from jail, 1 from State farm and one from the Prison camp, a total of 98. Ten of those pardoned were murderers. The longest sentence served was nearly 32 years of a life sentence by David Mooney. The shortest sentences were those of Chin Toy and Wong Chung, each eight years of a life sentence.

When the time expired for the filing of petitions for legislation it was found that the number of bills and petitions submitted exceeded all previous records. The year before was the big one in the legislative history of the Commonwealth. Then 1397 matters were submitted in the House and 297 in the Senate. Already 1468 matters had been submitted in the House and 343 in the Senate, or 116 more than the year before. Every field was invaded by the petitioners, the public service corporations being especially remembered. Charter amendments throughout the Commonwealth were asked for. Pure food laws were suggested from a dozen different sources and street widenings figured conspicuously. The whole range was run through from the proposition to tax bachelors more than 25 years old to the bill to prohibit the use of escalators.

Two important political events followed right after the election of United States Senator. Shortly before noon, Jan 14, the Massachusetts Electoral College met and cast its 18 votes for Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, to be President of the United States. A minute later the full vote of the college was cast for Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana to be Vice President of the United States. George M. Harlow of Plymouth was elected messenger to take to Washington the certificate of the electoral vote and to submit the same to the President of the National Senate. The college then informed the Governor that it had concluded its labors.

The College was called to order by Col William A Gaston of Boston, its President. All the delegates were present. At the request of President Gaston prayer was offered by Rev. Alexander Mann of Trinity Church.

The following day a Democratic Secretary of State, Frank J. Donahue, was sworn in. It isn't often that the Democrats of Massachusetts are permitted to constitute the membership of the electoral college or fill the office of Secretary of the Commonwealth. Hence the historic importance of these two events.

Gov Foss sent a chill down the spine of the True Blue or True Glue Democrats, naming William P. Fowler to succeed Samuel P. Hudson as a member of the Boston Licensing Board. Mr. Fowler was almost unique as a public servant in filling a salaried office for 11 years without accepting pay, saving the city $33,000. He was Registrar of the Institutions department for that period, for which post there is a salary of $3000 a year. He refused to take it. In explaining the refusal of the salary Mr. Fowler said: "I do not think that I earn the salary. Most of the work is done by clerks. There is hardly a day, however, that I do not devote some time to my duties as Registrar; some days it requires considerable time, while on others there is very little to do. I do not need the money and the work is on matters in which I am interested so that I have always been glad to give the city the benefit of my services without pay." But in the case of the Licensing Board the case was different. Feeling that he earned the salary he did not hesitate to take the money.

One day early in February, the Governor was in high feather. When the "Old Boy" insisted that the doors of his private office in the Executive Chamber be swung wide open, to permit the washed and the unwashed to come in without knocking; when he slapped his thighs, knocked his heels together, leaned back and laughed, his friends used to figure that things were coming his way.

"What do you hear about the Cabinet?" he asked one of the reporters.

"We hear that you are being considered for a place," said the newspaper man.

"You don't tell me, honest Injun, boys? Is that so? Isn't that great. Well, by George, if I am, Brother Wilson has never told me about it. I do hear that Bryan has given

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President Taft and President-elect Wilson Shaking Hands
Inauguration Day, March 4, 1913.

up all his lecture engagements after March 4. Looks as if he were going in. I also hear that Mr. Morganthau of New York is going to head the Treasury Department. I guess that if Senator Gardner of Maine is going into the Cabinet, New England will have to be content with that one place."

"It may be that Mr. Wilson will consider you for Secretary of the Navy," suggested one of the reporters.

"That would be nice of him," said the Governor. "I've had some experience with naval matters. You know I'm commander of the military and naval forces of Massachusetts. As such I made a trip with the Naval Militia a couple of years ago. I took to the water like a duck and surprised the old sea dogs on the cruise by diving off the bowsprit and swimming around the cruiser Chicago like a fish."

"What about this talk that you may decide to aspire for a fourth term as Governor?" he was asked.

"Well," replied the Governor, "up in Vermont where I came from, there always used to be four pieces in a pie, and one with a keen appetite didn't think anything of cleaning up the plate."

"Then there is another story that you may decide to run for Mayor this fall."

"Say boys, I'm afraid that you scared the Mayor, for he was out in his automobile to my house yesterday afternoon and suggested that we swap jobs."

"Wat did you say to the proposition?" the Governor was asked.

'Now, boys," he replied, "you are asking too much. I don't mind saying that I like my present job pretty well but, of course, it's a great honor—to be Mayor of a great city like Boston—honest Injun, it is."

"Perhaps," remarked a reporter, "you could hold both jobs at the same time."

"I hadn't thought of that," replied the Governor, "perhaps I could. We'll have to see about that. That's a good idea."

"It is said, Governor, that if you decide to run again, that is, take your fourth piece of pie, such an arrangement would be satisfactory to Lieut Gov Walsh, or, at least, he would not oppose you for the nomination."

"So, well I don't know but what it would. Dave is an awfully nice boy, true as steel and one of the ablest young men in public life in this State today. Isn't it customary to

give the Lieutenant Governor a second term?" he asked, and added, "The Republicans used to give their Lieutenant Governors three terms."

This was the first inkling the politicians or the public had that he might be a candidate for a fourth term. About this time, Massachusetts Democrats were stirred up by the report that came from Washington that Louis D. Brandeis was being considered seriously by President-elect Wilson for Attorney General in his cabinet. Mr. Brandeis had never identified himself openly with the State Democracy and local Democrats began to protest. Mr. Brandeis was not named for the cabinet and it is understood that the President-elect reluctantly abandoned the idea of naming him, after a special commissioner from Princeton had visited Boston, investigated the local Democratic situation and reported that Brandeis' appointment would be a political mistake.

The House, Feb 10, on motion of Representative Cox of Boston, the Republican titular leader, adopted a resolution felicitating Great Britain and Ireland on the passage of the Home Rule Bill.

The Legislature observed Lincoln Day by hearing an address by a member of the race that Lincoln emancipated 50 years before, William H. Lewis, Asst U S Dist Atty, himself a former member of the House from Cambridge.

As the time approached for the inaguration of Woodrow Wilson, as President, Gov Foss let it be known that it would please him to see a big turnout of Massachusetts troops and preparations were made on a large scale for the inaugural parade. The State made a creditable showing in the parade but Gov Foss did not bring back a Cabinet port-folio on his return home. Soon afterward His Excellency began to show a dislike for Democratic measures and a coolness toward Democratic leaders.

Meanwhile, the Legislature was busy with its task. John J. McDevitt of Quincy, a member of the Senate, said at a public meeting in his home city, that he had been offered a bribe of $300 to vote for a certain bill. Senator McDevitt was summoned before the joint committee on Rules and questioned about the charge. He declined to give the name of the man who offered him the bribe. At one of the hearings he mentioned the name of one of the Democratic members of the House in connection with the charge, but when

pressed for details declared that he didn't remember. The House dropped the matter but the Senate found the charge unproven and sentenced him to a reprimand and suspension for 30 days. The day when he was to hear his sentence he did not appear at the session and the Sergeant-at-Arms was directed to bring him in at the following session. He came voluntarily the next day and was formally suspended and publicly reprimanded.

Several Democratic members, led by Senator Brennan of Charlestown, tried to have reconsidered the vote of the day before, whereby the Senator from the 2d Norfolk district was suspended until May 1, his pay stopped, a reprimand by the President of the Senate in open session ordered and an apology in writing demanded, as a condition precedent to his restoration to his rights as a member of the Senate. Reconsideration failed by a vote of 9 to 28.

The full penalty, as ordered by the Committee on Rules, was finally inflicted upon McDevitt, but not until the Quincy Senator had entered a vigorous protest and spread upon the records a request for a trial by the Senate. When President Greenwood started to carry out the reprimand order the Quincy senator, who up to that time had remained in his seat, jumped to his feet and addressed the chair. The President with a blow of his gavel commanded: "The Senator from Norfolk, Mr. McDevitt, will stand up." McDevitt arose and shouted, "Mr. President."

Bang! from the President's gavel. "By order of the Senate." Again the Quincy man broke in, shouting at the top of his voice, "Mr. President." Bang! Bang! Bang! Bang! Bang! fell the gavel, but McDevitt stood his ground with a running fire of "Mr. President" until he tired out the presiding officer.

There was intense excitement in the chamber. The crowd surged forward and leaned over to catch every word uttered and watch every move. Senator McDevitt succeeded in getting in the following statement:

> "Mr. President I ask for a hearing; I will never apologize to you Mr. President"—whack went the gavel—"I will never apologize to you"—whack from the gavel—"nor to this honorable Senate"—again the gavel whacked—"for telling the truth."

Decorum of the Senate was for the time forgotten. Sergt-at-Arms Pedrick moved toward the Quincy Senator with his

mace and McDevitt subsided. Then the President read the reprimand as follows:

"By order of the honorable Senate it is my duty to reprimand you for conduct unbecoming a member of this body. In view of the nature of your offence, which included an attempt on your part to besmirch the reputation of another member of another branch of the Legislature, it is difficult to find words adequate for the occasion.

"Your attitude, however, before the joint Committee on Rules impels the belief that you do not comprehend, nor can you be made to comprehend, the gravity of your offence and the seriousness of your position.

"If any good may come from this regrettable occurrence, it may be because of the emphasis it places upon the truth that men may not lightly bring false charges; that lies react chiefly upon him who utters them.

"I reprimand you for bringing false accusations and making false statements, and I urge you in your enforced absence from this body to reflect upon your conduct, that upon your return you may have a better conception of the duties and responsibilities of a member of the Senate of the Commonwealth. And, finally, I warn you, as directed by the Senate, that in the future you must conduct yourself in a manner befitting your office.

"You will now withdraw."

A buzz of conversation followed the sigh of relief which swept over the Senate. McDevitt did not again interrupt the President, but faced him during the delivery of the reprimand. The face of the member from Quincy was scarlet as he received his punishment. It was a painful and dramatic scene. The sentence was harsh, but the Senate felt that it owed it to itself to impress upon the member, that such conduct would not be tolerated unless the member backed up his charges with evidence. McDevitt never returned to his seat. He sought a vindication at the hands of his constituents in the primaries but was denied it. It appeared to be a case of a glib tongue getting its owner into trouble and the latter's refusal to publicly apologize for his language. Had he done so in the first place, all would have been satisfied and he would have saved himself from suspension from the Senate.

Champ Clark, Speaker of the National House, visited Massachusetts March 17. He was to be the chief guest of South Boston's Evacuation committee. He was asked to address the Massachusetts House and consented, saying:

"There are those who would change everything. There are others who would change nothing. A proposition is not necessarily either good or bad be it either old or new. The corrupt rule is—'Try all things, hold fast to those which are good.' Legislatures and Con-

gresses come and go; but let us hope that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and this mighty Republic will go on

'Forever and forever,
As long as the river flows,
As long as the heart has passions
As long as life has woes.'

"As the years steal into centuries, may we and our children and our childrens' children so live and act and legislate as to improve the condition of all the people. augment their happiness and strengthen and multiply free institutions throughout the world."

Woman Suffrage lost in the House, the vote being 144 to 88.

Early in April, while the Suffolk Law school bill was before him, Gov Foss had a controversy with Dean Archer of the school. The bill gave the school the right to issue degrees. The proposition was fought by other colleges and law schools and Dean Archer called on Gov Foss to present his arguments, why the Governor should sign the bill which was before him. After Gov Foss had communicated his veto to the House, Dean Archer sent a letter to the Legislature declaring that the Governor had perpetrated a cruel hoax and then "gloated over the trick" he had played on him.

Dean Archer met the Governor in the Executive Chamber by invitation of Mr. Foss. Of this interview Dean Archer said in his letter to the Legislature:

"I did not know at the time that he had already vetoed the bill; that he had sent his message to the Clerk's office before inviting me to meet him; that he was practicing a cruel deception upon me. While he made no promises he certainly gave me the impression that he would act favorably.

"After I reached home in the evening I was called upon the telephone by newspaper reporters who informed me that the Governor had gone home and that the bill had not been vetoed. Sunday morning a reporter informed me that he had just talked with the Governor over the telephone and that he declared that he had let the bill pass and that it was already a law."

Dean Archer said that he received many congratulations on the success of the measure, and had a happy day in the assurance that two years of bitter contest had ended.

Then, he added, the next morning he was dumfounded to learn that "it was all a cruel hoax perpetrated by the man who has three times been honored by the people of this Commonwealth by the highest office in their gift."

When he called at the Governor's office that Monday morning, he asserted in his letter, "the Governor gloated over the trick he had played and declared that he merely wanted

to give me 'a pleasant Easter Sunday.' Ye Gods! A pleasant Easter Sunday—but what of Monday?" The Governor denied Archer's charges and the Senate killed the bill by upholding his veto.

Gov Foss professed to be getting a bit nervous, as a New England manufacturer, over the tariff program of the Democratic Administration at Washington. He gave out a statement on the subject in which he declared: "I want it understood that I am not and never was a free trader. I am a Protectionist."

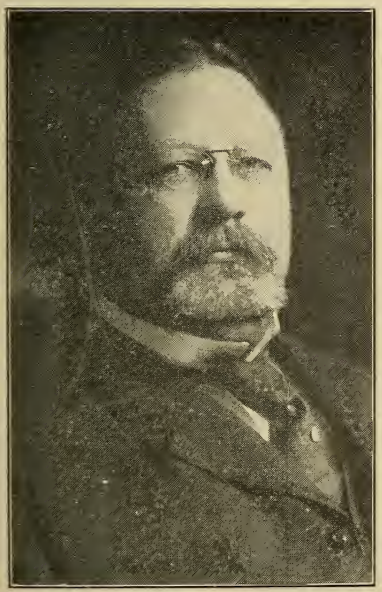
He also said the Republicans were beaten last Fall because they were Standpatters on the tariff, and that he hoped the Democrats would learn a lesson from the Republican defeat and not endanger their own future by going to the other extreme as regards the tariff. As to why he sent a message on reciprocity to the Legislature a few days before, the Governor said he did so in response to President Wilson's summons to "all honest, patriotic and progressive men to counsel and sustain him." This proved to be the entering of the wedge that widened the breach between Foss and the Democrats and he began to work back into the Republican fold.

With the return of W. Murray Crane to his old home in Dalton, an extraordinary tribute of love and esteem was paid to him by the people of his native town. As an appropriate gift the citizens of Dalton presented him a silver loving cup, bearing this inscription:

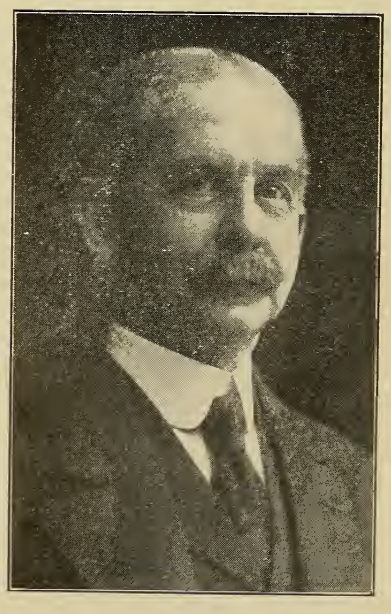
"WINTHROP MURRAY CRANE
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR 1897-1899.
GOVERNOR 1900-1902
UNITED STATES SENATOR
OCTOBER 12, 1904—MARCH 3, 1913.
UNSELFISH WORKER FOR THE TOWN
COMMONWEALTH AND NATION
AN EXPRESSION OF AFFECTION
FROM THE PEOPLE OF
DALTON, MASSACHUSETTS
AND A REMEMBRANCE OF HIS
SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY
APRIL 23, 1913."

Joseph C. Pelletier.

Frederick H. Gillett.



Samuel E. Winslow.



Calvin D. Paige.

Fred G. Pettigrove, Chairman of the Massachusetts Prison Commission since 1901, resigned in April. He had been for over 30 years connected with the administration of prisons in this Commonwealth and a year before was elected President of the Associated Prison Commissioners of the United States. Several times Gov Foss attempted to put a new man at the head of the Prison Commission, but each time the Council blocked him. The Governor accepted the resignation of Mr. Pettigrove saying that he only did it because of his desire "to introduce new policies into the administration of prison affairs."

Because of irregularities in his department, State Commissioner of Weights and Measures Daniel C. Palmer was removed from office and later Thure Hansen of Worcester, was named to fill the vacancy.

When the House got around to act on Gov Foss' tariff message he was roundly denounced by the Democrats for his attitude. One of the most pronounced anti-Foss Democratic speeches was made by Representative Smith of Gloucester, who paid his respects to Gov Foss for his abrogation of Democratic principles, although he ran as the candidate of the party and was supposed to stand squarely upon its platform.

"He was for the Democratic platform long enough," Mr. Smith said, "to go down to Baltimore with a retinue of paid political henchmen, seeking to capture the nomination of that party whose name he had taken unto himself. When that opportunity was gone and Woodrow Wilson was triumphantly elected he became a candidate for a position in the cabinet and again his pleadings were denied. Now he turns about and puts the knife into the party which has given him all he ever had in political life.

"Take from him the power of patronage and there would not be a single member of this House so low as to do him honor. He is a narrow imposter, and I appeal to the men of my own political household to place the stamp of disapproval on his political treachery. For an honest and earnest Republican I have the greatest respect, but for the man who belongs to neither political party, a man who is but a bushwhacker, I have nothing but the deepest disgust."

The Republicans passed their resolutions condemning the proposed Underwood Democratic tariff bill. Toward the end of the session the legislators seemed to take special delight in passing important measures over the Governor's veto. The legislative session ended June 21 just before 6 P. M.

The Legislature of 1913 was in session 171 days. The session of 1912 lasted 163 days while the record session of 1911, the first year of the administration of Foss lasted 206

days. The record of the session, as far as legislative business is concerned, was thus summarized by Secretary Donahue:

Bills signed by the Governor	819
Resolves signed by the Governor	133
Bills vetoed by the Governor	32
Bills passed over the veto	10
Bills permitted to become law without signing	12

The Legislature of 1913 placed much constructive legislation on the books. Though at times the Legislature and the Governor "locked horns," the Governor succeeded in getting through various measures in which he was interested and the Legislature enacted into law certain measures to which the Governor objected. Important among the general enactments of the year were, the Public Opinion Act, the resolve ratifying the Federal Income Tax, and another for the direct election of United States Senators, thus ending one of the most important controversies dividing the leading political parties.

Of the bills which were passed over His Excellency's vetoes the most important were the so-called Washburn railroad commission measure, the bill for the merger, through acquisition by the New Haven, of the Western trolleys, and the 9 hour in 11 street railway employees measure.

The most important measure on which the Governor's veto was sustained was the Meany Milk Labeling bill, which passed the House over the Governor's veto but was stopped by the Senate.

In the interest of labor, the Legislature passed a new Child labor law to regulate the employment of minors. It had passed a more stringent 54-hour bill for women and minors. It amended the Workingmen's Compensation law and passed an act providing for joint action by the Industrial Accident Board and the Board of Labor and Industry for the treatment of occupational diseases.

It raised salaries all along the line, in some instances from $2500 to $3000 at a jump, and in the case of the Land Court and the Railroad Commission, the members of both bodies were placed on a par with the Judges of the higher courts by the increase of their salaries to $8500 for chairmen and $8000 for members. A very important piece of legislation and another change of policy was the Municipal Indebtedness act which changed the tax limit.

CHAPTER XLIV

HAPPENINGS LEADING UP TO STATE CAMPAIGN, 1913—FOSS' COMPLETE BREAK WITH DEMOCRATS—FLOPS BACK INTO REPUBLICAN PARTY—FAILS TO ENTER PRIMARIES—GARDNER DEFEATS BENTON FOR REPUBLICAN GUBERNATORIAL NOMINATION—BARRY BEATS LONG FOR DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION FOR SECOND PLACE—WALSH UNOPPOSED FOR FIRST PLACE ON DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

BY the time the Legislature adjourned, practically every Democrat, high and low, was lambasting Governor Foss. The Governor had serious labor troubles with his Blower Works operatives. All sorts of threats were made to ruin him and his business by labor leaders but with his usual luck he came out ahead in the controversy.

Thursday, July 3, the Railroad Commission of Massachusetts became an institution of the past. For 44 years the railroads and railways of Massachusetts had been supervised by a commission appointed by the successive Governors. The Massachusetts Railroad Commission, during its existence of almost half a century, left its impress not only on this Commonwealth but also on practically all the other States in the Union. Its passing was of more than ordinary interest. It yielded the field to the new Public Service Commission, created by act of the last Legislature.

The Railroad Commision had supervision over railroad and railways. Its powers were mainly recommendatory. The Public Service Commission has supervision over railroad, street railway and telephone companies and also over steamboat companies plying between ports in this State. By virtue of one of the provisions of the act creating the Public Service Commission, the members of the Railroad Commission, which went out of existence June 3rd, were made members of the new board.

No State commission had to face more difficulties or attempt the solution of more involved problems than the old Railroad Commission. While the powers of the latter were in the main simply recommendatory, it accomplished much.

During the 44 years of its existence there were only twenty appeals from its decisions and findings to the Supreme Court. In one case, the court found the mandatory act, under which the board fixed certain interstate freight rates, to be unconstitutional. This was the Berkshire coal case, back in the old Hoosac Tunnel days. In two other cases, those of the appeals of the Worcester & Nashua Railroad and of the City of Cambridge, the Court's decisions were against the Board. In all other appeals the Board was sustained.

Massachusetts had another Railroad Commission prior to this one. Its history was brief and not particularly interesting. By the provisions of Chapter 252 of the Acts of 1845 the Governor was authorized by and with the advice and consent of the Council to appoint a commission of five persons to constitute the Board of Railroad Commissioners. Under this act Gov Briggs appointed as commissioners, Osmyn Baker of Amherst, chairman, Thomas Twining of Lenox, John Mills of Springfield, Ithamar A. Beard of Lowell and John M. Fessenden of Roxbury. At the same time His Excellency appointed as special commissioners John I. Baker of Beverly and Sylvanus Bourne of Wareham. Its life extended over but nine months.

July 20, 1913, Lieut Gov Walsh formally entered the gubernatorial race and from that date he and Gov Foss became political opponents. One prominent Democrat, incensed at Governor Foss, remarked that history would "record with incredulity, that such a monumental fraud escaped detection so long," quoting the late Senator Ingalls of Kansas on another distinguished public man. The breach widened between the Governor, the Democratic State Committee and most of the leading Democrats. Late in July, it was as wide as Gunpowder River, where the Governor's Presidential boom fell overboard in June, on its way to the Baltimore convention in 1912. The hand of almost every Democratic politician, except those whom he had appointed to office, was against him openly. They dared him to come out and contest the nomination with Walsh.

Not even Judge Riley, of whom the Governor thought so highly, condescended to mention his name at the meeting of the Legislative committee. The State organization ignored him. The Governor's name was no longer spoken with reverent lips. They had made it so uncomfortable for his Assis-

tant Secretary, Harlow, that the latter announced he would not seek a re-election as a member of the State Committee. Those in charge of Democratic headquarters burned their Foss bridges behind them. The Governor and his friends in the southeast corner of the State House, recalled to them the language of Macbeth, in the witches' scene:

> "And be these juggling fiends no more believ'd
> That palter with us in a double sense;
> That keep the word of promise to our ear
> And break it to our hope."

The Governor's denunciation of the labor unions further aroused the enmity of the leaders of organized labor. His tariff views and his removal of a part of his manufacturing plant to Canada, on the plea that the Underwood Tariff bill forced him to do so, because it did not include a reciprocity clause, his statement that "no man can be elected Governor of Massachusetts this year who indorses the Underwood bill" and his refusal to name Democrats to office, who were backed by the State organization, added to his unpopularity with labor men and Democrats alike.

President Wilson never regarded him as a real Democrat and Bryan refused to take him seriously as a candidate for President at Baltimore. The Governor's friends admitted that "He may have tried to jolly the politicians, but he never tried to fool the people." While the politicians were fretting and fuming the Governor was cool, calm and collected, assured his friends that he had his opponents on the run and was firm in the belief that "What is to be will be."

The day the Democratic State Committee was denouncing Foss, the latter's friends took out Republican nomination papers for Governor. For some weeks there had been a procession of bread and butter Republican politicians to the Executive Department on Beacon Hill. Self-respecting Republicans, who responded to his invitation to call on him, scorned or laughed at the idea of Foss going into the Republican primary or acting as its self-appointed advisor. The Progressives openly declared that they did not care for his company. They had already agreed to run their ticket of the year before, Bird and Cosgrove. President Herman Hormel of the Republican City Committee of Boston, publicy offered to secure the necessary signatures for Foss to become a candidate in the Republican primary, provided he would agree in writing

to abide by the result. The Governor made no reply to Hormel's offer. At that time Governor Foss was a registered Democrat and couldn't vote for himself as a Republican candidate if he desired to. He was sending for Republicans and urging them to enter the gubernatorial contest against Col Everett C. Benton of Belmont, who, up to that time had the field all to himself. First it was State Treasurer Stevens, then Ex-Gov Guild, later Samuel W. McCall, but none of these cared to get into the affray. This bit of doggerel illustrated the situation from the Foss standpoint:

"Ain't it great to see 'em coming—
Hatfield, Hale, Crane and Sam McCall—
We mean to keep 'em coming,
Keep 'em guessing 'til the Fall."

During this game of political battledore and shuttlecock, the Governor named the members of the new Board of Labor and Industry, created by the Acts of 1912. The Executive Council immediately suspended the rules and the nominess were confirmed. The new board was made up as follows:

James A. Lowell of Newton, chairman, term five years; Prof James W. Crook of Amherst, four years; Channing Smith of Leicester, three years; William Acton of Fall River, two years; Mrs Davis R. Dewey of Cambridge, one year.

This was one of the most important commissions created by the Legislature in recent years. The act establishing the board provided that the Governor should name the members by March 1. He had, however, for a long time been unable to find just the persons he wanted to place on the commission, he claimed. Mr. Lowell formerly served in the Legislature from Newton, and had been identified largely with child labor and kindred legislation. James W. Crook was professor of economics at Amherst College. Channing Smith was a woolen manufacturer of Leicester. William Acton was well known in labor circles. Mrs. Dewey was the wife of Prof Davis R. Dewey of the Institute of Technology. The Democrats fairly snorted at these nominations. A Labor and Industry Commission and not a recognized member of their party on it! The "Old Boy" chuckled at their discomfiture

At an outing of the Bull Moose party early in the campaign, Mr. Bird invited Gov Foss to enter the Progressive primaries and contest with him the party nomination for Governor, saying:

"The papers have stated that Mr. Foss might try for the Progressive nomination. I say let him come on. The more the merrier. The Governor is having a great time these days stirring up the old parties. The Republicans are panic stricken, disorganized and discouraged.

"I urge him to come on and test his strength in the Progressive party.

"For months the Republican organization has been in a panic. A more hopeless, disorganized, disrupted political party never existed. No definite principles, no real leaders, no honest co-operation —all chaos. Peace be with its ashes!

"The Deomcratic organization is also equally disorganized. Behold the three times elected Democratic Governor repudiating the tariff policy of the National Democratic Party, publicly quarrelling with his State party leaders, barely on speaking terms with the chairman of the Democratic State Committee. Our Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Walsh, is wondering where he comes in, still waiting and hoping for Foss' endorsement.

"The Governor is certainly fooling them all. He cannot make another political somersault and land on his feet."

Gov Foss declined to accept Mr. Bird's invitation. He claimed to be a real Progressive, however and proudly pointed to his three years' record as Governor to prove it.

Just when Col Benton and his friends were congratulating themselves on what an easy time they would have getting the Republican gubernatorial nomination, their plans were spoiled by the announcement from Congressman Gardner that his hat was in the ring. "I would not now be a candidate if either Ex-Gov Guild or Ex-Congressman Samuel W. McCall had started to make the run for the nomination," declared the Congressman in making his announcement.

At this interesting juncture, Gov Foss made two more important appointments which displeased the Democrats and didn't enthuse the Republicans. Ex-Speaker John N. Cole, Congressman Gardner's avowed political enemy, was named to fill the vacancy on the Board of Economy and Efficiency, caused by the resignation of Norman H. White of Brookline who resigned to make his unsuccessful run in the Weeks district as the Bull Moose candidate for Congress. David A. Ellis was appointed a member of the Boston Transit Commission to fill the vacancy caused by the death of George G. Crocker, chairman of the commission since its creation. Ellis was not particularly strong with the Boston Democrats, although claiming to be of that political faith.

Representative James F. Cavanagh, of Everett, stepped out of the Republican Lieutenant Governorship contest, leaving the field clear for Col August H. Goetting of Spring-

field who was nominated. Cavanagh became Benton's campaign manager.

The Essex Club, Congressman Gardner's political organization, had an outing August 16, at which all the Republican gubernatorial aspirants were present. Gov Foss addressed the gathering as "Fellow Republicans."

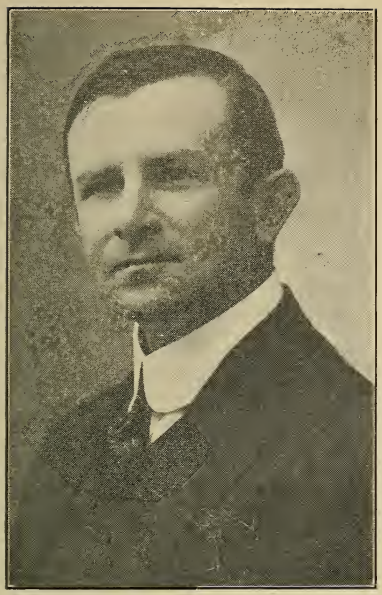
Another batch of appointments was made by the Governor just before the primaries. They were not relished by the Democrats. He named Ex-Secretary of State Langtry, Joseph B. Russell, brother of the late Gov Russell, and Neil McNeil, as the State House Extension Commissioners. The two latter were Democrats of a mild, inoffensive type.

The Democrats were becoming a little inharmonious among themselves. President Wilson's appointment of Edmund Billings as Collector of the Port was not popular with them. He had been the Secretary and Executive head of the Good Government Association, which had steadfastly opposed Mayor Fitzgerald. There were a half dozen or more candidates for the place. Billings was named when the so-called leaders failed to unite on a candidate. Then, too, the State Committee had picked Richard H. Long, a shoe manufacturer, and former Republican, for Walsh's running mate, but Ex-Councillor Edward P. Barry, who was a candidate, refused to be driven from the field. He waged a lively campaign and won the nomination.

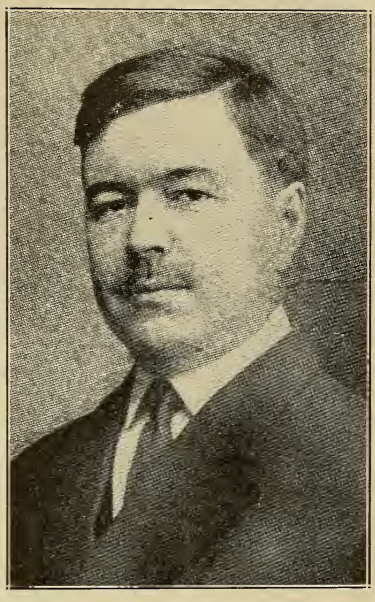
The primaries were held Sept. 23rd. To the surprise of many Gardner defeated Benton. Foss didn't go into the primaries, owing to defective nomination papers. The Republican vote for Governor was: Benton 36,876; Gardner 43,393; Gardner's plurality 6,517.

The Democratic Lieutenant Governor vote was: Barry 39,853; Long 31,571; Barry's plurality 8,382.

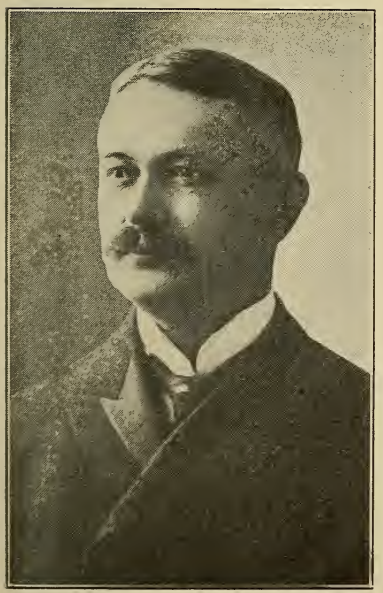
The Republican State Treasurer vote, for which there was a contest, was: Burrill 50,557; Kane 15,466; Burrill's plurality 36,091. The Democratic State Treasurer vote, for which there was also a contest, was: Mansfield 48,194; St. Coeur 16,395; Mansfield's plurality 31,799.



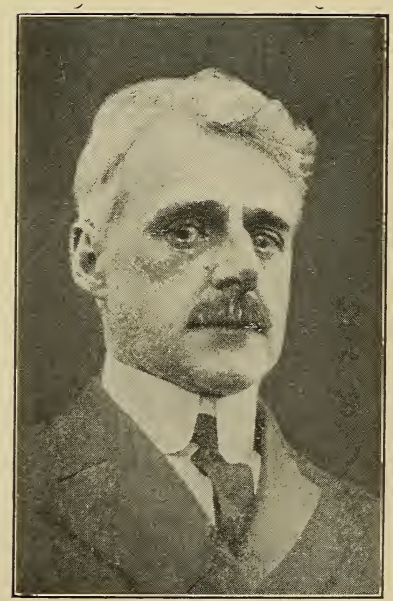
Joseph Walsh.



Guy Currier.



Everett C. Benton.



Edward J. Barry.

CHAPTER XLV

CAMPAIGN OF 1913—GARDNER'S DEMAND FOR RESIGNATION OF REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN REFUSED—BARRY ALSO FAILS TO GET RILEY, DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN'S SCALP—FRICTION BETWEEN GARDNER AND STATE COMMITTEE—REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION REJECTS PLATFORM PLANKS DEMANDED BY GARDNER—FOSS' TARDY ENTRANCE INTO CAMPAIGN—DEMOCRATS ELECT ENTIRE STATE TICKET AND MAJORITY EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—BIRD BEATS GARDNER FOR SECOND PLACE AT POLLS—REPUBLICANS FAIL TO ELECT MAJORITY OF HOUSE

AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER'S nomination for Governor was a genuine surprise to many seasoned politicians, who felt that he would be unable in a few weeks to undo the work of months which Col Benton had put in for the gubernatorial nomination. What Gardner was able to accomplish in his short, sharp campaign opened the eyes of his party associates. Most men would have been content with the party nomination, but Congressman Gardner wanted more than that. He desired to name the chairman of the State Committee on the ground that the candidate for Governor ought to have running his campaign, a man in whom he had complete confidence and who was in sympathy and harmony with the ideas of the gubernatorial nominee. That was a new departure in Massachusetts Republican politics. Officials of the State Committee and the other candidates on the State ticket objected.

Mr. Gardner intimated to Chairman Hatfield of the State Committee that it would please him if he would retire. Mr. Hatfield declined to do so. He had labored hard and long for party success as head of the State Committee, but the fates were against him. He was popular, honest and conscientious, but he came into office at a period when the Republicans were having a streak of hard luck. He desired to win one State fight before he retired from the chairmanship. Mr. Gardner sent a letter to President Alexander McGregor of the Republican Club of Massachusetts, asking for the cooperation of that organization in his campaign for Governor.

He acknowledged that it was generally customary to invite the cooperation of the State Committee, but he claimed that he was out of step with the Committee. Many of his friends told him that he should make the best of the State organization and get along without any rupture, but his final message was: "I have already drawn; my reputation demands that I fire." At that time the Republican State Committee was heavily in debt and Capt Gardner wanted to run his campaign on a clean slate. Both Gardner and Hatfield stood pat and matters remained at a standstill, while the Congressman ran on to Washington to finish some important business before opening his campaign.

There was trouble also in the Democratic camp over the chairmanship. Edward P. Barry, who won the Lieutenant Governorship nomination, although bitterly opposed by Chairman Riley of the State Committee and several leading Democrats, demanded that Riley resign. Riley was not in a resigning mood. A little later he did resign, but the State Committe tabled it. Walsh conducted a campaign of his own, supplementing the work of the State Committee.

Ex-Gov Guild was chosen for chairman of the Republican State convention. The State Committee thus recognized the right of the candidate for Governor to have one of his most intimate friends sound the keynote of the campaign. The place of second importance, the chairmanship of the committee on resolutions, was awarded to a supporter of Col Benton, Councillor Guy A. Ham. The members-at-large of the committee on resolutions named by the State Committee were George P. Lawrence of North Adams, H. Clifford Gallagher of Milton and Frank O. Hardy of Fitchburg, none of whom were enthusiastic over Gardner's candidacy.

Congressman Gardner served notice on the committee on resolutions that he would insist on his immigration and compulsory arbitration planks going into the State platform, and that if there was any doubt about it he would go to the State convention and lead the fight for them.

Mr. Bird invited Walsh and Gardner to accompany him on his tour of the State and offered them an opportunity to speak from the same platform with him. Both declined, Mr. Gardner telegraphing from Washington as follows:

"Charles Sumner Bird,
"Boston, Mass.
"Thank you for your invitation to tour the State with you in

your automobile. I am afraid that people would think it rather a circus performance. Don't you agree with me? I suggest instead a joint debate any evening in Boston before Oct 20. You have attacked me on my view that immigration ought to be restricted. Should you desire to debate that subject you may name all conditions. Please answer promptly, as I am now making arrangements for the serious part of my campaign.

"A. P. Gardner."

On the last Saturday in September there was a meeting of the State Committee for the purpose of settling the question of Gardner's demand for Hatfield's scalp. Congressman Gardner was invited to the meeting and was received with coldness. He straightway demanded the resignation of Chairman Hatfield, who was reported to have indorsed the notes of the old committee to the tune of $25,000—which was given as a good reason why he would not get out, and was one of the reasons reported why Mr. Gardner had no desire to take over the Old Guard organization and its obligations.

Mr. Hatfield's retirement, Gardner said, was the only issue so far as he was concerned. Hatfield must get out or he would run his own campaign regardless of the State Committee. The Benton-Hatfield men on the committee interrogated Gardner, asking if Hatfield was out of the way if he would then cooperate with the State Committee. To all such questions Mr. Gardner replied:

"The official head business is Chapter 1, Section 1, paragraph 1, No. 1 every time—Hatfield's head or trouble." He also told them that he would personally go into the State convention and fight for his progressive planks and that if they had any idea that they could burden him with a colorless platform, full of ambiguities they were mistaken. The committee passed a vote of confidence in Chairman Hatfield and Gardner proceeded to carry out his own program.

"Gentlemen" said Gardner to the newspaper men, after his visit to the State Committee, "you do me a great injustice. You picture me as one who delights in devouring a bunch of wildcats before breakfast every morning.

"That is not true. I'm as mild a mannered man as ever scuttled an old-fashioned Essex County caucus. I'm a man of peace. At any rate I'm not spoiling for a fight.

"I've just a few well defined notions on the campaign—old fashioned Republican notions—do you get me?

"I'm not the sort of a man who wants to take advantage of any man. I don't want the support of an organization or

set of men whom I must later turn down. I confess that Bill Sulzer, and Uncle Theodore, and a lot of other performers have done this, but Augustus P. doesn't propose to in this year of Our Lord, 1913.

"I mean what I say. If I'm elected I'll carry out my campaign pledges. Strange? Yes, I'll admit it is but things have changed. Some people who don't know me won't believe this but those who do don't doubt it for a moment."

"I shall run my own campaign, just as in the primaries excepting the help which the Republican Club is willing to give me. I will have absolutely no relations with the State Committee as it is at present organized," said he later in a statement, and, he added:

"President Wilson accepted the assistance of the Democratic State Committee in New Jersey and then he booted them after he got elected. I don't believe in accepting assistance when there is a possibility of having to boot them afterward. This is not criticizing President Wilson in particular. He is only one of many who has done the same thing. If I accept the assistance of the State Committee as at present constituted, either I tie my own hands or else if I fight them later on, I can properly be accused of not playing the game according to Hoyle.

"I want to say this for Mr. Hatfield, that he has shown himself willing to make substantial concessions, but he will not concede the main point. I do not say that in the past there has been anything improper in the relations of the candidates and the committee, but if I accept the help of Mr. Hatfield, and those with him, I deprive myself of the divine right to kick. How in thunder can I fight them later on if I am going to let them run my campaign?"

Each went on with his own plans for the campaign. Toward the end of the campaign there was a little cooperation of the two committees. Smarting under some of the things the Bull Moose candidates said about him Gardner added a little spice to the campaign, threatening to hire Faneuil Hall and administer "one good wallop" to Charles S. Bird and other leading Progressives, unless they ceased what he called misrepresentation of his views and "bedraggled personal attacks." "Mr. Bird", said Mr. Gardner, "misrepresents my views on compulsory arbitration. I call his attention to the fact that I advocated it in the case of steam and street railways only.

"Now I am going to give Mr. Bird fair warning. He has been permitting, if not encouraging, Hale and Walker and Cosgrove and his organ, the Journal, to continue their bedraggled personal attacks on me. Meanwhile he beams on the State with a philanthropic smile like some benevolent Dr Jekyll.

"That kind of Gardner-baiting has got to stop. I give Mr. Bird fair and timely notice that if he continues that sort of humbuggery I shall hire Faneuil Hall some fine night and I shall administer one good wallop which I hope will be remembered."

He did hire the hall, but the "wallop" was not as hard as the public was led to believe it would be. Wendell Phillips Thore spoke in defense of Mr Bird.

The Democratic and Republican conventions were held the same day, October 5. Under the new order of things there was nothing for the conventions to do but adopt a platform. The Democrats had a harmonious time of it at Faneuil Hall. The Republicans had a monopoly of discord at their convention in Tremont Temple where they "steam-rollered" Augustus Peabody Gardner. Nine hundred and fifteen delegates gathered to adopt a platform and provide against legal difficulties in filling vacancies should there be any vacancy on their State ticket.

The Committee on Resolutions built a platform for Candidate Gardner and the other Republican candidates, but it didn't suit Mr. Gardner. Three planks, which he insisted should go into the resolutions, were missing, and the one on immigration was so weak that Mr. Gardner wouldn't stand on it and wanted to substitute his own. But the rebuilding force under Foreman Gardner, superintendent of the job of transforming the antiquated G. O. P. into a real live Progressive Party, went on strike. When the opponents of the Congressman sat down after the convention and calmly surveyed the situation, they concluded that the man who threatened to "wallop" Charles Sumner Bird, the Progressive candidate for Governor, had been "walloped" himself in the house of his friends.

Mr. Gardner listened patiently to the reading of the resolutions by Chairman Ham of the Platform Committee. The four planks on which he had set his heart in having in the platform were:

First—Restriction of immigration.

Second—Minimum Wage for women.

Third—State credit for suburban homeseekers.

Fourth—Compulsory publicity of facts in important labor disputes.

Otherwise the platform was fairly satisfactory. Mr. Gardner made good his threat to go into the convention and fight for these planks. He arose in his seat with the Essex County delegates on the left of the chair the moment the reading of the resolutions was completed. He ascended the stage and began his argument for his four planks, but they were voted down. Not one of them was incorporated into the platform.

It was a new and novel sight in a Massachusetts Republican State convention—the candidate fighting his associates on the State ticket for a platform the others cared not for, preferring the handiwork of the special committee named for that particular job.

Massachusetts Progressives gathered at Tremont Temple two days later in their first State convention as a party under the State law, whooped it up for Bird, their candidate for Governor, who was in the Western part of the State campaigning and did not attend, adopted a platform and elected forty women members on their State Committee, one from each senatorial district, and eight men members-at-large for the same body.

It took almost 12 hours to do this. The delegates talked, sang and disputed until finally the platform, as adopted by the committee of 40, went through a little after 10 P M. The convention had been in continuous session since 11 A. M. and most of the time it was political vaudeville. The party managers had announced that the "people" would rule the convention. Matthew Hale, chairman of the State Committee, reiterated this when he opened the convention. But only the select few were allowed to get very far before they were overhauled and shunted off to a siding if they were found in opposition to the carefully laid convention program.

October 15, the last day for filing nomination papers, Gov Foss filed his. The Governor was on his way home from Indianapolis, stepped off the train at Utica, N. Y., and called the Executive office in Boston, where his Secretary awaited him. Several who were interested in his candidacy were on hand to hear the news.

"Well, Governor," asked his secretary, "what do you say? We are here to obey orders." "Let her go Gallagher!" was the Governor's reply. "That is," said the Secretary, "you mean file the papers. Do I get you?" "Correct," answered the Governor. "How's it looking down there? What are the boys saying about me? I think they'll be pleased." A few minutes later the papers were handed the Secretary of State and Foss' hat was in the ring. He advised his friends to secure ring-side seats early as there would be some lively scrapping, as he expressed it. He made his fight on the labor and railroad issues, taking strong ground against both.

Ex-Senator Albert J. Beveridge, of Indiana, came into the State to help the Progressives and got after Capt Gardner on his child labor record in Congress. Mr. Gardner claimed Beveridge garbled a speech of his, declared he stood with Gov Guild on that question and then took this slam at the Hoosier. "'We favor a Federal constitutional amendment which shall give to Congress the right to prescribe maximum hours of labor and a minimum wage for workers throughout the United States.'"

"I drew that plank myself and submitted it to Gov Guild before I submitted it to the Platform Committee," said Mr. Gardner in one of his speeches. "And now as Senator Beveridge has seen fit to disregard my fair warning twice and has three times seen fit to circulate his untruth, I take this occasion to tell you that the man is unworthy of your consideration.

"This is not the first time that his loose tongue has got him into trouble. This man, my friends, is the same Beveridge who was thrashed on the floor of the Senate by Senator Bailey, whom he had insulted in debate. This is the same Beveridge who failed to retaliate for that well deserved thrashing." Nothing more was heard from Beveridge.

Lieut Gov Walsh made a spirited campaign covering every nook and corner of the State. He had the largest and most enthusiastic audiences in the campaign. The last week of the campaign Gov Foss was up to his old tricks. He issued a broadside against Lomasney, Riley, and Fitzgerald, whom he called the Tammany Trio and demanded that Bird and Gardner withdrew. In a speech at Lowell, he said:

"I call upon Augustus P. Gardner and Charles S. Bird to announce to the people of this State their withdrawal as candidates for Governor.

"If they do not do this I shall charge them with being parties to a conspiracy to turn the Commonwealth of Massachusetts over to the Tammany trio, Thomas P. Riley, Martin Lomasney and John F. Fitzgerald.

"Mr. Gardner and Mr. Bird are well aware of the fact that neither of them has the slightest chance of being elected Governor.

"Mr. Gardner inaugurated his campaign by completing the disruption of the Republican party, which began with the Roosevelt revolt and was made worse by the recent primary contest. And the remnant of Republicans who were with Gardner in the beginning has gradually fallen away.

"Mr. Gardner admits his defeat and announces his purpose to be no higher than to get more votes than the Progressive candidate. Republicans who vote for Gardner can have no other object than the defeat of the Progressive candidate. And Gardner cannot count on another vote than these.

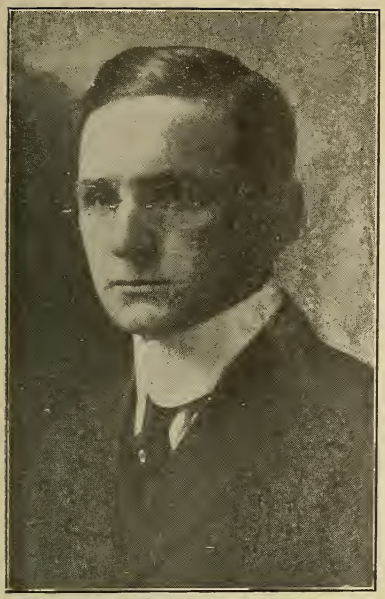
"Mr. Bird has not the slighest chance to be elected Governor and he knows it. His only hope is to lead Gardner in the vote. The humiliation of the Republicans can be the only result of the Progressive party's existence and that is the hight of Bird's ambition in this campaign.

"But Mr. Bird's candidacy is entirely without justification, even if his purpose were worthy of respect, for Bird has not the slightest chance of equaling even the vote of Gardner."

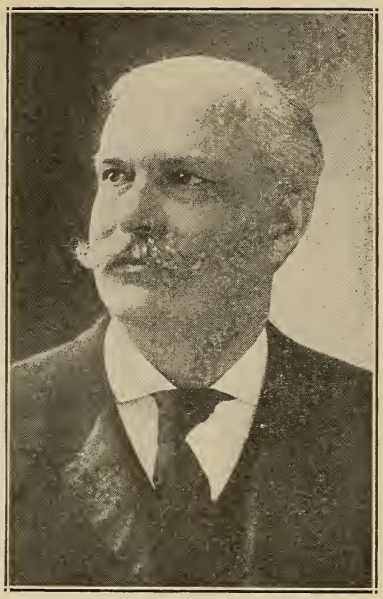
The "Tammany Trio" only poked fun at Gov Foss. Mr. Bird suggested that the Governor withdraw and thus simmer the contest down to Walsh and himself.

Making his 519th speech in a 36-day State-wide campaign, during which he spoke in every city and town in Massachusetts, Mr. Bird addressed 500 persons in Pemberton Square at the last rally in his campaign. His whirlwind finish included eight outdoor rallies in different sections of Boston and one indoor rally. Mr. Bird had done what no other man ever did running for Governor and he finished in fine voice and splendid physical condition. The tour was planned by Charles Henry Davis, who went over every inch of the ground in an automobile and mapped out the route and marked off the time, weeks before Mr. Bird began his campaign.

The election proved a Democratic landslide. The entire Democratic ticket was elected, something unheard of. Even the Governor's Council had a majority, another unheard of thing. The Republicans still controlled the Senate by a small margin, but they were seven short of a majority in the House.



Frank J. Donahue.



Thomas J. Boynton.

Frederick W. Mansfield.

J. Otis Wardwell.

The vote of the State was:

For Governor

Walsh, D 183,257
Bird, P 127,644
Gardner, R 116,299
Foss, Ind 20,349
Walsh's plurality, 55,613.

For Lieutenant Governor

Barry, D 177,590
Goetting, R 150,389
Cosgrove, P 105,090
Barry's plurality, 27,201.

For Secretary of State

Donahue, D 183,911
Kinney, R 141,268
Wood, P 92,403
Donahue's plurality, 42,642.

For Treasurer

Mansfield, D 169,860
Burrill, R 152,858
Keith, P 88,763
Mansfield's pluarality, 17,002.

For Auditor

Pope, D 165,589
White, R 151,958
La Riviere, P 82,571
Pope's plurality, 13,631

For Attorney General

Boynton, D 167,838
Swift, R 159,736
Newton, P 82,664
Boynton's plurality, 8,102.

Political complexion of the Legislature of 1914 was:

House

Republicans 119
Democrats 106
Progressives 14
Socialists 1
Total Membership 240

Senate

Democrats 17
Republicans 21
Progressives 2
Total Membership 40

The State government of 1914 was Democratic—Democratic Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, State Treasurer, State Auditor, Attorney General.

Executive Council:

Democrats (including Lieutenant Governor) 5
Republicans 3
Progressive Democrat 1

The vote of Boston is always interesting and was:

For Governor

Walsh, D 46,568
Bird, P 18,827
Gardner, R 13,169
Foss, Ind 3,197
Walsh's plurality 27,741.

For Lieutenant Governor

Barry, D 45,910
Goetting, R 18,673
Cosgrove, P 14,752

Gardner's vote was the smallest vote ever cast for a Republican gubernatorial candidate in Massachusetts. The Republican party was in third place. His political tactics were resented by the Old Guard and the Progressives. The former didn't believe in Mr. Gardner's progressive ideas and the Bull Moosers doubted his sincerity.

The majority party in the State had been split in two in 1912 and Gardner insisted on splitting what was left of the regular Republican faction again. The result was inevitable. Had Mr. Gardner followed the advice of most of his real friends, he would not have quarrelled with the State Committee or fought the report of the committee on resolutions in the State Convention. Such a course, in all probability would have enabled the Republicans to have maintained second place. As it was, it resulted in handing over to the Democrats the administrative offices at the State House.

Election night, 1913, was one of darkness and gloom at Republican headquarters. The Democrats paraded the streets with red fire and bands. The Progressives consoled themselves with the fact that they had beaten the regular Republican gubernatorial candidate and that they would hold the balance of power in the next Legislature. They were sorely disappointed in their failure to elect Bird Governor.

CHAPTER XLVI

AFTERMATH OF THE 1913 CAMPAIGN—WALSH THE FIRST CATHOLIC ELECTED GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS—REFUSES TO REAPPOINT ADJUTANT GENERAL PEARSON—SENATOR LODGE'S ILLNESS AND RECOVERY—ESTIMATE OF FOSS AS GOVERNOR.

SOMEBODY has said that hindsight is better than foresight. Political post mortems are not always pleasant but they are useful. They show the principal causes of defeat. No post mortem was necessary after the campaign of 1913. The causes for the defeat of the Republicans were too apparent. The Republican party tried to commit suicide. One cannot divide even a majority party in two and win over a united minority of the magnitude of the Democratic party in Massachusetts in 1913. The Republicans were unable to bring the two wings of their party together after the National campaign of 1912. A lot of voters clung to the notion that they were still Republicans. As a matter of fact they were more Democratic than Republican in their political tenets. Men like Bryan accused Roosevelt and other radical Republicans of stealing their political clothes and charged them—with considerable justification, too—of masquerading in Democratic costumes. Mr. Gardner's new "Republicanism" was too radical for the conservative wing and the radicals didn't take much stock in his antagonism to standpatters.

Gov Foss' small vote of 20,000 demonstrated that there was still merit in the party label. The voters were tired of Foss' kind of politics. They preferred a Governor of the old brand. Before election he professed to believe that he was going to win by 50,000. The day after election he declared that he knew he never had a chance.

The election of David I. Walsh proved that there was, after all, very little in the old bugaboo that a Catholic couldn't be elected Governor of Massachusetts. That fine example of the 20th century Puritan, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University declared after election:

"I cast my ballot at the recent election for Mr. Walsh. The

fact that he is a Roman Catholic should not interfere with my ballot. I voted for Mr. Walsh because only through him could I express my opinion. I am opposed to the restriction of immigration and to protection, as favored by one of the candidates, while the other was also a protectionist. Neither do I think that this changed condition in the personnel of the government is going to be influential in the future otherwise than for the good. Indeed today this Puritanical State is said to be Roman Catholic in religion. What a marvellous change from the days of our Puritan and Pilgrim forefathers! This religious transformation, due to the change of peoples, is the greatest transformation of Puritan Massachusetts and New England.

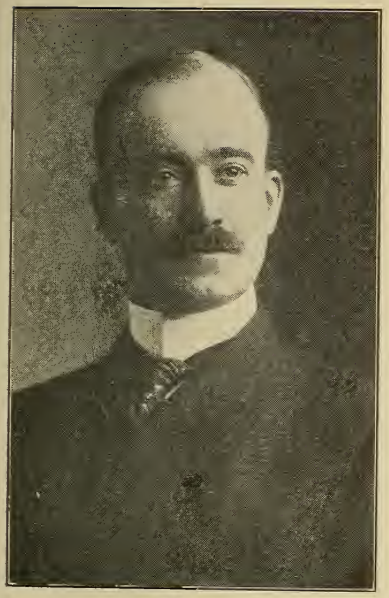
"We used to have very restricted suffrage, based on church membership at first and property ownership later. Now we have almost universal manhood suffrage with only a reading and writing of English test. Now instead of every voter owning property, the majority rent or board in almost every community. These people pay no tax and they are inclined to devote their ballot not to frugal or wise expenditures but to make the expenditures of the government as large as possible. The change in this respect is as vivid as the change in the personnel of those who fill the offices."

The election also proved that a poor man could be elected Governor without the aid of the powerful rich or the "interests" which have axes to grind on Beacon Hill. Foss acknowledged that he had spent $10,520 to get his 20,000 votes. The Republican State Committee filed returns of $21,271.17 for election expenses and Mr. Gardner's campaign treasurer declared that he had expended $34,692. Mr. Bird's campaign cost $92,625. Gov-elect Wash swore that his expenses were $1539 for the campaign, but of course he did not claim that this was all his campaign cost. The State Committee acknowledged spending nearly $24,000 for campaign expenses.

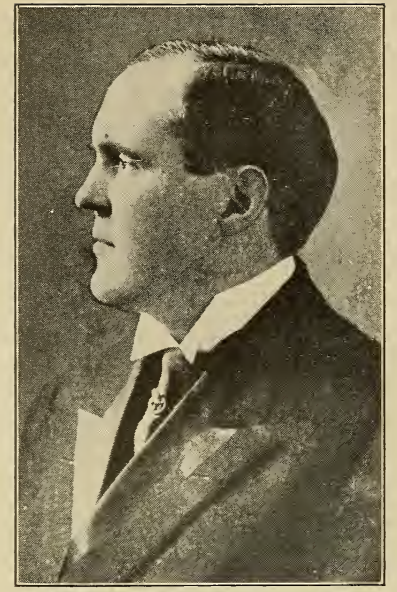
The political complexion of the House of Representatives made it necessary for Speaker Cushing to bestir himself. He must have Progressive support if he would succeed himself. He and his friends set themselves to work to secure support from the Bull Moose ranks. In this they succeeded in the organization of the Legislature of 1914.

December 1, James Madison Morton, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, resigned to take effect December 15. Judge Morton had graced the highest bench in the Commonwealth for many years and he was one of the State's most eminent jurists. He came from a distinguished family of jurists and publicists. Gov Foss named Judge John C. Crosby of the Superior Court to fill the vacancy. In Judge Crosby's place in the Superior Court he named William Hamilton of Springfield.

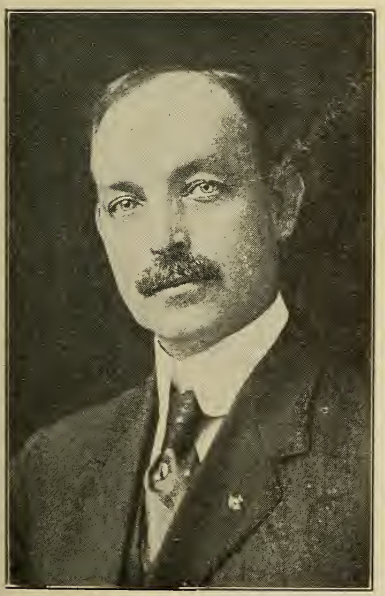
Judge Hamilton was a law partner of William H. Brooks,



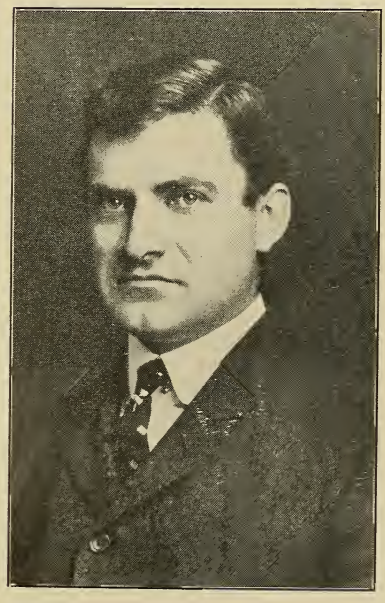
James A. Gallivan.



John F. Meany.



William H. Carter.



Richard Olney, 2d.

of Springfield, who had coddled up to the "Old Boy" and encouraged him to believe that everybody was with him in his aspirations for a fourth term except the political bosses. Mr. Brooks was looked upon by State House habitues as exceedingly close to the Governor and it did not surprise them when his law partner was elevated from the local court in Springfield to the Superior Court. Mr. Brooks had represented various corporations before the Legislature for years and stands high in his profession as did his partner, Judge Hamilton.

Mr. Foss again aroused the anger of many Boston Democrats by naming Robert A. Woods, License Commissioner of Boston, to succeed Commissioner Emery who died in office. Mr. Woods was well known as a settlement worker and head of the South End House. His views on the regulation of the sale of liquor and the conduct of saloons and cafes, differed widely from those of the liquor interests and his appointment was a blow at the "wide open" town idea. The Council, however, confirmed him after listening to his objectors.

Gov-elect Walsh selected for his secretary, John F. Meany, a well known Democratic legislator who had proven a valuable political ally in the gubernatorial campaign. Mr. Walsh found plenty to do between election day and his inauguration. In Washington he conferred with the Department of Justice, relative to its attitude toward the railroad situation in this State. Attorney General McReynolds informed the Governor-elect that he would insist on a dissolution of the Boston and Maine and the New Haven. Walsh determined on ousting Adjt Gen Pearson, but legislative action was necessary. This he finally succeeded in doing after a long hard fight in the Legislature, naming Maj Charles H. Cole of the First Corps of Cadets to the position. The Governor alleged incompetency on the part of Gen Pearson which Gen Pearson's friends stoutly denied and combatted. Christmas Day, the Governor-elect named his military staff.

Senator Lodge, who was unable to participate in the recent campaign, because of a serious surgical operation, was able to be about after election and to return to Washington, resuming his senatorial duties. He let it be known that he never approved of his son-in-law's campaign for Governor and

that he still had hopes of being able to help restore the Republican party to power in the State and Nation.

Before taking leave of Gov Foss, it will not be amiss to consider him briefly politically. He was now, for a while at least, back in the Republican ranks. The Democrats neither asked for nor received any favors from him since his last political somersault which landed him on the G. O. P. side of the fence. With all his faults Foss had many admirable qualities. One of the most vacillating men who ever occupied the chair of the Chief Executive of Massachusetts, yet he had courage at times, and would stand up in his boots and fight bravely. Take for instance his judicial appointments. There isn't any question that it required considerable backbone to do what he did. His opponents said, and doubtlessly will continue to claim, that he was playing politics with the Catholic vote; but when he declined to attend the 175th anniversary of the Charitable Irish Society. at which the President of the United States was the chief guest, because those in charge of the arrangements had assigned Cardinal O'Connell second place in the speaker's list, on the ground that a Prince of the Roman Catholic Church was a higher functionary than the Governor of the Commonwealth, he risked his popularity with the same class. This element, however, felt grateful to him because of the recognition he had given them on the higher courts and they were not seriously inclined to question his attitude in the matter. His judicial appointments are the brightest chapter in his record as Governor.

No man got more fun out of the position as Governor than Foss. He delighted in misleading people. Some of his pranks were playful enough. Others, like the Dean Archer incident, were cruel, wholly unnecessary, undignified and savored too much of the cheap politician. At times it was impossible to understand the workings of his mind. The patronage slate was more than once broken, while the Executive Councillors cooled their heels in their chamber, waiting for His Excellency to make a new one. More than once candidates for appointments left the Governor's office satisfied that they were among the elect, only to learn later that somebody else had been chosen. Gov Foss was frank enough, but too often his frankness was insincere and this caused him a lot of trouble. He left the State House with few friends. Had he remained

true to the Democrats, there is little doubt that he could have had that longed for additional fourth "piece of pie."

When the Democrats took up Foss, Gov Draper said at a rally on the Cape, that he was willing to stake his reputation as a prophet, that before Foss had been in the Democratic ranks very long he would try to rule or ruin that party. When he surrendered the reins of government to Lieut Gov Walsh, Gov Foss was persona non grata with all three political parties. He had been a thorn in the side of the Republicans, Democrats and Progressives. His last political hurdle landed him in the bosom of the Prohibition party, where we shall leave him to the tender mercy of the enemies of King Alcohol, free to believe in signs, black cats, straying canines, dream books, clairvoyants and card readers, his critics were wont to claim he relied upon for his political guidance while he occupied the gubernatorial chair.

CHAPTER XLVII

GOVERNOR WALSH'S FIRST TERM — CUSHING REELECTED SPEAKER BY PROGRESSIVE VOTES—DELAY IN INAUGURAL CEREMONIES BECAUSE OF CONTEST OVER HOUSE RULES ECHO OF SPEAKERSHIP FIGHT—DEATH OF EX-GOVERNOR DRAPER.

THE Democratic plan was to make George Pearl Webster of Boxford, a Progressive, Speaker of the House. Had Webster been able to control the Progressive votes he would have been elected, provided he received all the Democratic votes. The Republicans once more raised the anti-Lomasney cry and pictured the great influence the latter would have in the event of Webster being Speaker. Publicly and privately the Progressives were exhorted to save the House from Democratic control. One Bachelder, prominent in dark lantern politics, had been enlisted by Speaker Cushing to assist him in rounding up Progressive votes in return, it is claimed, for Cushing's work in behalf of the sectarian constitutional amendment, so earnestly desired by Bachelder and his friends. To Bachelder many gave the credit for inducing some of the Progressives to turn their backs on Webster, their party associate, and vote for Cushing. The six Bull Moose representatives who broke away from the Progressives and reelected Cushing, stated that they had special reasons for doing so.

"I don't trust Lomasney and his followers," said George E. Briggs of Lexington, one of the six Progressives to desert on the final ballot. "I do not think that Lomasney and the Democrats would come over to the Progressives en bloc unless they had something to ask from us in return. I think if the deal had gone through it would have developed later what the Democrats wanted and I don't think it would have been for the best interests of the Progressive party."

Cleveland A. Chandler said that he didn't like Lomasney's remark in the Democratic caucus when the ward 8 leader said that by electing a Progressive Speaker, the Democratic party would be continued in power in Massachusetts. Representative Chandler said he didn't think an alliance of the

Governor Walsh.

Progressives with the Democrats under such conditions would work for the good of his party.

Alfred N. Fessenden of Townsend declared that the people of his district wouldn't stand for his voting for Lomasney and the Boston Democrats, and that he believed an alliance of the Progressives and Democrats would work to the injury of the former.

James M. Lyle, Fred W. Cross and Charles H. Webster stated that they believed they had done the best thing possible for their party under the circumstances.

Representative Haines of Medford, who had threatened to be a candidate against Cushing in the caucus, quit and voted for the Speaker in the Republican caucus.

The new Governor, David I. Walsh, was born in Leominster, November 11, 1872, the youngest but one in a family of ten children. He received his early education in the public schools of Leominster and Clinton, graduating from the Clinton High School in 1890. He then entered Holy Cross College, from which he was graduated in 1893, completing the four year course in three.

By the death of his father in 1884, he was obliged to work outside of school hours and after securing his college degree, was forced to go to work in order to secure sufficient funds to enable him to take up the study of law, which he had chosen as his profession. In the Fall of 1894, he had earned sufficient money to pay his tuition at Boston University Law School, from which he was graduated in 1897. In the law school he was given two of the three highest honors in the class—president and orator.

A few months later he was admitted to the bar and began to practice in Fitchburg and Clinton. In 1900 he was elected to the House of Representatives from that strong Republican district and in 1901 was re-elected by an increased plurality. He then retired from political life until 1911, when he ran for Lieutenant Governor against Robert Luce. He was defeated by a plurality of only 4151. His next attempt was successful, defeating Luce for second place on the State ticket by a plurality of 36,321.

He was inaugurated Governor January 8, 1914. The ceremony was delayed for two hours because of the quarrel over adoption of the rules of the House, growing out of the spirited Speakership contest. Sure that they had the

votes to prevent it, the Republicans under the leadership of Bothwell of Newton, moved a reconsideration of the vote whereby the House defeated the Democratic move to create a committee on committees similar to the committee of the National House, taking the appointment of the legislative committees out of the hands of the Speaker. By a vote of 118 to 110 the motion was defeated.

That question out of the way, the decks were cleared for the inaugural ceremonies. The Governor's friends filled the chamber. Many dignitaries were on hand to listen to the inaugural address. In brief, Gov Walsh's recommendations and observations were as follows:

"The loss to our investors resulting from a decade of lawlessness and mismanagement of railroads is nothing less than a public calamity.

"Nothing is clearer than that the present condition of the Boston and Maine Railroad is found in the form of its financial structure and in the incompetence and unfaithfulness of its past management.

"A radical and immediate reorganization of the whole system is absolutely essential.

"Both the holders of the stocks of the leased lines and the holders of Boston & Maine stock must contribute to the solution of the problem; the necessary sacrifice must not be made by the Boston and Maine stockholders.

"If we are not to have a great financial catastrophe in our New England railroads we must now—immediately—avert the danger by a reorganization which will re-establish the credit of the corporation, slough off the parasite contracts which have been sapping the life-blood of the system, and provide hereafter for a management both faithful and competent.

"Such reorganization as will reduce the proportion of fixed charges and put the railroad into the control of a management competent and faithful to the interests of its own stockholders and to the public is a condition precedent to legislative help and to public favor of any sort.

"Both Nation and State insist upon an immediate divorce of the Boston and Maine from the New Haven and a contemporaneous reorganization of the Boston and Maine.

"While as I have said, it is for the owners to devise a just and sound form of reorganization, it may be found expedient, if not necessary, to charter a new corporation in which the stock of the leased roads should be merged with those of the Boston and Maine —the bonds of all the consolidated companies being assumed by the new company—so that the result shall be a railroad corporation organized substantially in accordance with the traditionally sound theories of Massachusetts railroad finance.

"If those who ought to lead in the task of rehabilitating this railroad do not rise to their opportunity, the Commonwealth is not without recourse.

"If the Commonwealth is obliged to save a necessary public utility because those who are primarily interested will not save it, the Commonwealth will do so under circumstances most favorable

to itself, and without sentimental compunction for those who would not help themselves.

"If the parties in interest will avail themselves at once of the opportunity of reorganization on just and fair terms, any enabling legislation reasonably desired I shall gladly recommend; but if they fail in the prompt and efficient performance of that duty, it will then be the plain duty of the Commonwealth to take drastic and effective action to protect itself, its industries, its savings institutions and its citizens from further loss due to incompetent or unfaithful railroad management."

Before recommending any legislation for the Western trolley system Gov Walsh said he would await the report of the Public Service Commission as to the financial ability of the New Haven to carry out the provisions of the act of 1913.

The Legislature should provide, he said, for the calling of a Constitutional Convention to consider especially the adoption of the initiative, referendum and the recall of elective officers; biennial elections; the abolition of the Executive Council and enlarging the powers of the Lieutenant Governor; woman suffrage; rights of cities and towns to deal in necessaries of life in times of public distress; government by majority; the right of the Governor to veto special items in appropriation bills; homestead legislation; revision of the taxation system, and the making of workmen's compensation compulsory.

Excise tax on foreign corporations should be uniform for all classes.

All franchise taxes should be retained by the State.

Party enrollment should be abolished.

Woman suffrage should be submitted to the voters.

The corrupt practices act should be strengthened.

The initiative and referendum should be adopted.

Election of State officers should be biennially.

The Supreme Judicial Court should be a court of appeal and correction in matters of law exclusively.

The commander-in-chief should have the right to select his own adjutant general.

State armories should be placed at the service of the public.

The scope of the Workmen's Compensation act should be widened.

Local boards of arbitration of labor disputes should have the power to summon witnesses, take testimony and compel the production of books and papers.

He recommended a salaried State Board of Health.

He advised a central purchasing agency for all State departments and institutions.

The Governor should have the power of veto over the acts of the commissions.

The salary of the Chairman of the Directors of the Port of Boston should be reduced.

The Fish and Game commission should be reduced to one member.

The Harbor and Land commission should be consolidated with the Directors of the Port of Boston.

In place of the Metropolitan Water and Sewerage Board and the Metropolitan Park Commission there should be a metropolitan department of public works, with a commission of three members.

The Public Service Commission of five should be reduced to three members.

The State should encourage agriculture.

Advised consideration of a system of rural credits and co-operation.

Supervision of the telephone companies should be transferred from the Public Service Commission to the Gas and Electric Light Commission.

The expense of maintaining the Public Service Commission should be met by a special tax on the companies supervised.

It was an ambitious plan. The Legislature declined to follow it entirely but several of the Governor's propositions were adopted. Much so-called "progressive" legislation was passed and by reorganizing several State boards the Governor was given an opportunity to reward his supporters.

The legislative session occupied 182 days during which 785 acts and 160 resolves were passed. Eleven acts became laws without the signature of the Governor. He vetoed 8 acts and 6 resolves all of which were sustained.

August 1 John F. Meany, private secretary to Gov Walsh, took his place as a member of the Public Service Commission to which the Governor appointed him. He was succeeded by Thomas H. Connelly, the assistant secretary.

What he was able to accomplish with the aid of the Legislature is best summed up by the Governor himself in a speech at the Democratic State convention in Boston October 4, over which Harvey N. Shepard presided. Later Mr. Shepard was made a Civil Service Commissioner, by Governor Walsh.

"I rejoice that the time has come when I am free to go before the public who have confided in me an honorable and responsible trust and to give to them an account of my stewardship," said Governor Walsh.

"Let me briefly state what, adhering loyally and unflinchingly to this faith, the Democratic administration, of this year has accomplished in Massachusetts.

"It has given a fair and just increased compensation to injured workingmen and workingwomen of the Commonwealth.

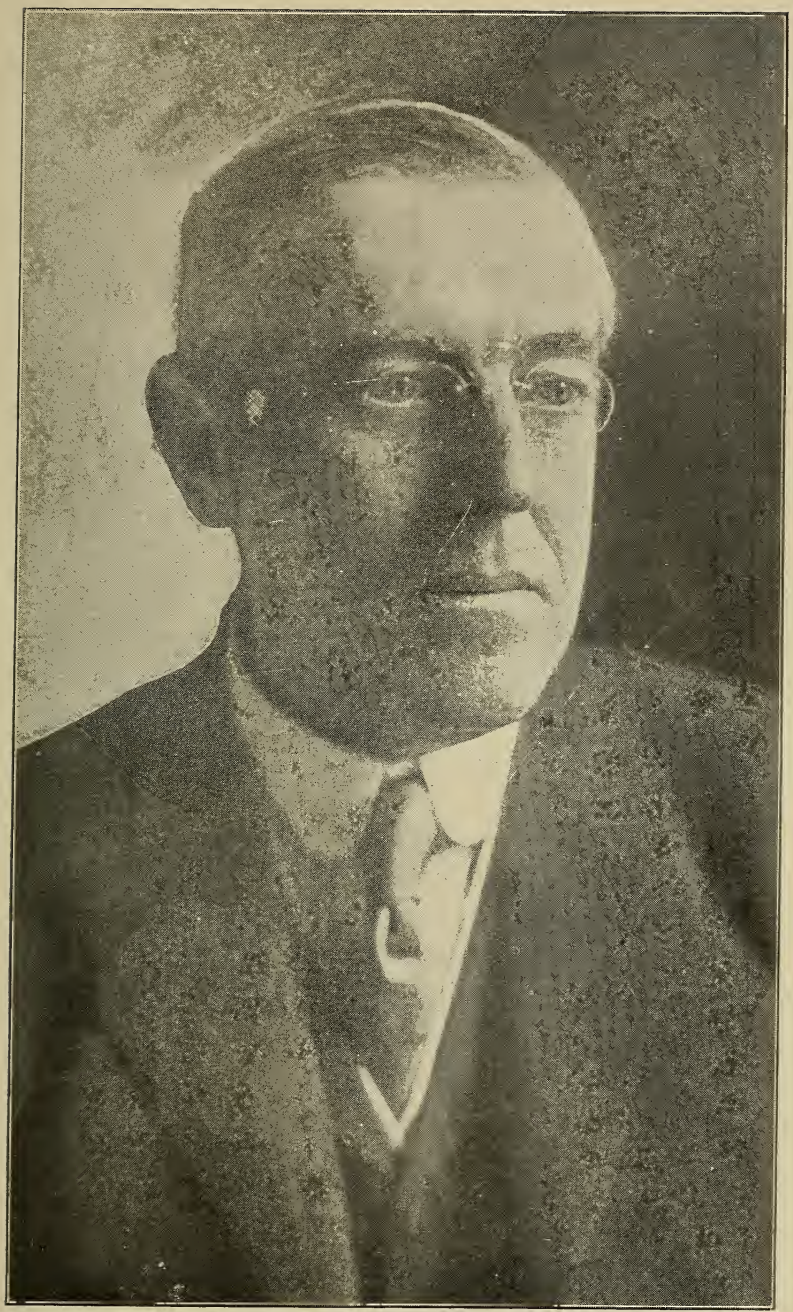
"It has extended the principles of home rule to our cities and towns.

"It has provided for the strict and impartial regulation and supervision of certain public service corporations, many of which until this current year were beyond the reach of supervising authorities.

"It has established a vigorous, efficient and progressive health department to safeguard and protect the public health.

"It has provided paid public officials to study the problems of the helpless and insane wards of the State.

"It has aided in forcing a dissolution of the railroad monopoly which has nigh throttled the very life and future of New England.



President Wilson.

"It has restored to the people the right to determine in what manner their primary elections shall be conducted.

"It has kept the cost of the State government, which always must be taken from the earnings of the people, within reasonable and economical limits.

"It has made it easier and less expensive for our municipalities to engage in municipal lighting.

"It has encouraged, protected and promoted the agricultural industry of the Commonwealth.

"It has sought to increase the usefulness and efficiency of the administrative boards of the State by reorganization of the departments of the State government and by taking preliminary steps for a State-wide policy of requiring officials who are paid substantial salaries to give their entire time to the public service.

"It has provided for compulsory investigation of labor disputes and giving publicity to the findings made by arbitration boards.

"It has opened to a wider and more public use the expensive armories that have been constructed by the State at a large public expense.

"It has increased the State aid to poor and deserving widows of our soldiers.

"It has compelled large foreign corporations to pay a fairer share of the expense of the Commonwealth, whose privileges they enjoy.

"It has recommended and aided the people of small means to acquire homes of their own.

"It has sought to obtain just and fair legislation in answer to the demands of labor.

"It has provided for the parole and pardon of prisoners upon a merit system rather than through financial or political influence.

"It has recommended and aided a Constitutional amendment for the reform of our taxation system, defeated heretofore by successive Legislatures, and which promises to relieve the injustice and inequality existing under the present archaic system.

"It has given the Tax Commissioner increased powers to enforce the payment of inheritance taxes.

"It has for the first time given special attention to the conservation of our natural resources by providing for the establishment and maintenance of State forests.

"It has lessened the expenses of litigation by reducing the time in which settlements might be made of estates of deceased persons

"Almost without exception these reforms were advocated in the Democratic platform of last year, urged upon the Legislature in my inaugural address, and forced to enactment by a united Democratic membership in the General Court."

March 11, 1914, Governor Walsh removed the members of the State Board of Labor and Industries. Two of the Council, Messrs McGregor and Keith, Republicans, voted against the Governor, but the others, including the third Republican, Mr. Frothingham, supported him.

Councillors McGregor and Keith tried to have the matter laid over so that the Board of Labor and Industries might be heard, but the Governor, who had been through a long controversy with Chairman Lowell of that Board, said he be-

lieved immediate removal would be salutary from every point of view.

Chief among the reasons given for this drastic action was that the Board was not constituted according to law, inasmuch as the membership did not include a physician or sanitary engineer. The chairman of the Board, James A. Lowell, replied to the contention of the Governor, saying:

"The members of the Board have had differences of opinion necessarily arising from the fact that it was made up as the statute requires of persons representing opposite points of view. Once more, however, I venture to suggest that the efficiency of the work performed by the board, rather than its differences of opinion, should have been the issue and should have been determined by the Governor through consultations with persons thoroughly familiar with the work of the Board

"It is my firm conviction that the work of the board has been well organized, and as those conversant with it have attested, has been efficiently carried on. It is my sincere hope that the Governor will be able to select a board which will carry on the work none the less effectively, and if such a board is appointed it will have no stronger supporter than I."

Practically an entire new commission was named with Alfred S. Donovan, a shoe manufacturer, as chairman.

A new and smaller Board of Port Directors of the Port of Boston was authorized and after the Legislature adjourned, the Governor named Edward F. McSweeney of Boston, chairman, Joseph A. Conry of Boston and Lombard Williams of Dedham. A new Board of Insanity made up of Dr. Michael O'Meara of Worcester, chairman, Dr. L. Vernon Briggs of Boston and Charles E. Ward of Buckland was named. The reorganized Commission of Economy and Efficiency, included Francis X. Tyrrell of Chelsea, chairman, Thomas W. White of Newton and Russell A. Wood of Cambridge.

Lieut Gov Barry opposed confirmation of Mr. McSweeney as chairman of the Port Board, and was joined in this by Councillor Guy. The Lieutenant Governor was also recorded in opposition to the confirmation of Messrs. Ward, White and Williams, three Republicans.

Confirmation of Russell A. Wood, for the Economy and Efficiency Board was unanimous. Mr. Wood was regarded as a very useful ally by the Democrats. His candidacy on the Progressive State ticket made possible the election of the Democratic candidate for Secretary of State. The latter and the Governor felt very grateful to him. Wood was named to

succeed John N. Cole who resigned to help Mayor Curley make Boston "bigger, better and busier."

Gov Walsh also found it necessary to make two temporary appointments to fill important berths created by statutes of that year, until such time as he could make permanent appointments. He named Dr. William C. Hanson, who had been assistant to the secretary of the State Board of Health, to serve as acting Health Commissioner. The State Board of Health went out of existence under the reorganization act, and this included Dr. Mark W. Richardson, secretary of the board. As Acting Health Commissioner, Dr. Hanson exercised all the powers conferred on the office by the last Legislature. After a while Dr. Allan McLaughlin, a medical expert, of the Federal Health service, whose specialty was the Bubonic plague, was named, although there wasn't the least suspicion that Boston was threatened with such a calamity. There was a lot of muttering among some of the Governor's friends over this appointment. There was a precedent, however, for the Governor. Hadn't Gov. Foss gone West for the prison head? Many felt that the Governor might have found a medical man in Massachusetts to fill the position.

Two Democrats were named for the Superior Court. Christopher T. Callahan of Holyoke, who was prominent and active in the Bryan days and had always maintained a lively interest in Democratic politics, was one of the appointees. He was serving a term as District Attorney in the Berkshire-Hampden district when named.

To fill another vacancy in the Superior Court, Gov Walsh named James B. Carroll, Chairman of the Industrial Accident Board. A little later, when Justice Sheldon of the Supreme Court retired, Judge Carroll was appointed to the Supreme Judicial Court. Mr. Carroll was eminently qualified for the position. He enjoyed a high reputation at the bar in the Western part of the State. He had what the lawyers call, the "judicial temperament" and a well stocked legal mind. Mr. Carroll was a running mate of Gov Russell after Gen Corcoran was named to the Superior Court bench more than twenty years ago. In Judge Carroll's place on the Superior Court Gov Walsh named City Solicitor James H. Sisk of Lynn, prominent in local politics of his city for several years.

John A. O'Keefe, a well known Democratic lawyer of

Lynn was named as Fire Prevention Commissioner of the Metropolitan District, September 3, 1914.

Lieut Gov Barry set up a sort of a court of his own at the State House and made the most of the office, sometimes to the discomfort and annoyance of his chief in the adjoining room. Mr. Barry tried to dignify the second office in the Commonwealth, wore a silk hat and frock coat most of the time and took the job a little more seriously than most of his predecessors in recent years.

Ex-Gov Draper died suddenly April 9, 1914 at a Southern health resort, where he had gone for rest. The State took appropriate action and was represented at his funeral.

CHAPTER XLVIII

SECOND AND LAST TERM OF GOVERNOR WALSH—FEDERAL AND STATE APPOINTMENTS—GOVERNOR'S INAUGURAL RECOMMENDATIONS—JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS—DEATH OF EX-GOVERNORS GUILD AND LONG—BIGGEST STATE TAX IN HISTORY—GOVERNOR DISAPPOINTED WITH LEGISLATURE.

THE last day of the year 1914, Gov Walsh made a batch of important appointments. He named Charles R. Gow for License Commissioner of Boston to succeed William P. Fowler, whom the Governor did not consider broad enough in his views for the position. Mr. Gow was a good civil engineer and a successful business man, but he had no special training for the place and no particular views on the liquor traffic.

The same day Joseph B. Eastman was named as the successor of Clinton White on the Public Service Commission. Mr. Eastman had for several years represented a small but select body of men, banded together under the euphonious title of the "Public Franchise League," before legislative committees on transportation and other matters. Mr. White was retired under the superanuated law. Gradually the Governor was making over this important Commission to meet his views. He had little confidence in the chairman of the commission, Frederick J. Macleod, a Foss appointee and warm supporter of the "Old Boy."

When Walsh was elected, he practically ignored Chairman Macleod on railroad matters and took the advice and counsel of George W. Anderson who represented the anti-Mellen or Morgan interests in New England railroading. Later on the Governor was instrumental in forcing Commissioner Anderson out by insisting on a law which compelled members of the Commission to give their whole time to their Commission work. Anderson, a high priced lawyer, refused to do this, resigned his place, and was appointed U S District Attorney.

It was evident for some time that Thomas P. Riley, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, was not going to be

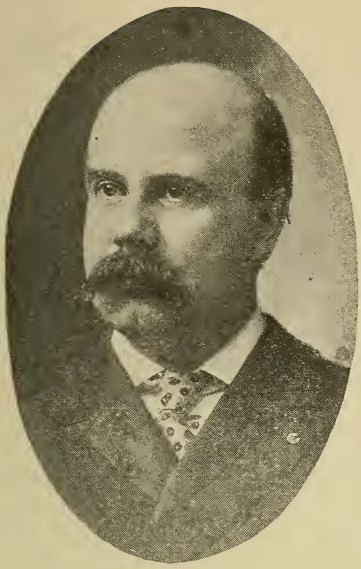
appointed U S District Attorney, a place he desired. Mr. Riley had strong political backing, but the Attorney General took the ground that the incumbent must be a lawyer of recognized ability and standing in the Commonwealth. When the place went to Anderson, Governor Walsh named Riley on the Gas and Electric Light Commission. The refusal of the Wilson administration to name Riley U S District Attorney was another rebuff the Six O'Clock Democrats received from Washington.

The Democratic State organization had taken its stand for Speaker Clark in the presidential primaries in 1912 and the White House evidently remembered the scant courtesy Gov Wilson's field lieutenants received at the hands of the State organization headed by Riley.

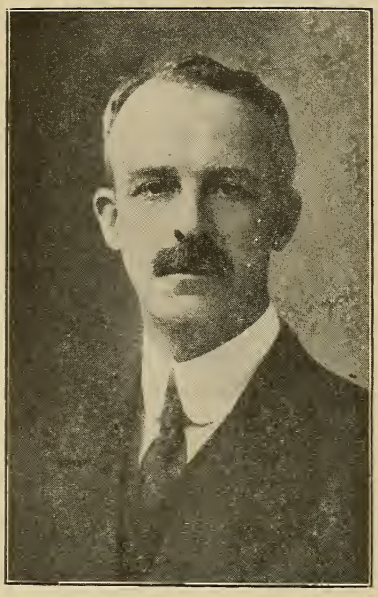
When the patronage came to be distributed, it was found that very few of the Champ Clark men got any of the plums from Washington. Edmund Billings, secretary of the Good Government association, was made Collector of the Port, John F. Malley of Springfield, a Wilson man, was made Collector of Internal Revenue, Charles S. Hamlin was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, all without consultation with any of the so-called State leaders. Billings' appointment was the hardest blow the Boston Democrats had to bear, but as a salve to their wounded feelings the Treasury department consented to the appointment of President Joseph A. Maynard of the Democratic City Committee as Surveyor, to succeed Edward G. Graves, Republican.

While the organization Democrats were quarreling over who should have the Collectorship, Col Edward M. House of Texas, the President's closest friend, and Dudley Field Malone of New York, now Collector of the Port, of New York, slipped over to Boston, looked the field over and tendered the collectorship to the last man any of the half dozen Democrats who were squabbling for the place would pick for this one-time important representative office.

But it was the neat way in which several Democratic members of Congress managed to slip into good Federal berths that amused the public the most and angered and disgusted some of their political associates. When Congressman Andrew J. Peters found he would have to make a hard fight for a renomination, Francis J. Horgan having announced his candidacy, he decided that it wasn't worth while and without much

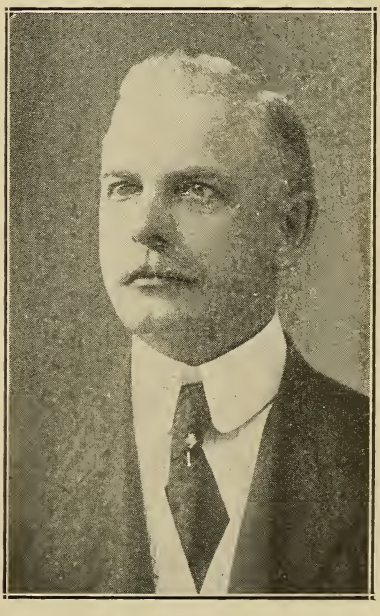


William Shaw.



Edmund Billings.

Daniel H. Coakley.



Sidney O. Bigney.

ado, quietly slipped into the office of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury as the successor to Charles S. Hamlin, made Governor of the new Federal Reserve Board. Then Congressman Murray's appointment as Postmaster of Boston was announced to succeed Edward C. Mansfield. Later Congressman John J. Mitchell was named as U S Marshal and still later Congressman Gilmore, believing that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, decided that the postmastership of Brockton, his home city, was a great deal better than trying for a re-election in his Congressional district. His appointment followed.

All the Big Federal plums in Boston were thus disposed of including the Assistant U S Treasurership which went to Charles B. Strecker, a delegate to the Baltimore convention and a Wilson shouter. Gov Walsh held aloof from the contests over the places. He had patronage troubles of his own.

A few days before his second inaugural, the Governor removed from office Fred H. Walker, State Cattle Commissioner and E. Gerry Brown, Supervisor of Small Loans. Both were charged with irregularities in the conduct of their offices. Walker was a Republican. Brown was a Foss appointee. Both put up a determined fight against removal and endeavored to prove that the charges against them were untrue or exaggerated. The Council backed up the Governor in his stand.

Inauguration was January 7. The day before, Channing Cox had been elected Speaker of the House and Calvin Coolidge had been chosen President of the Senate. In his inaugural address the Governor called attention to the European War, saying that already its effects had been felt here by the unrest created. He asked for an appropriation of $50,000 for the unemployed, to be used to reclaim waste lands, swamps and marshes. Speaking of State finances Gov Walsh said:

"The estimated expenses, under existing laws, for the fiscal year ending Nov 30, 1915, are $19,469,095. The estimated revenue is $9,289,000. The cash on hand Dec 1, 1913, the beginning of the present fiscal year was $2,862,884. The warrants remaining unpaid at that time added to the warrant for December expense, and a balance of $2,000,000 unexpended 1914 appropriations, which are available for 1915, reduce this amount to $386,015. This leaves in sight to meet the expenses of the government for the current year $9,675,015, which, subtracted from the estimated expenses, leaves a difference, unprovided for, which must be met by taxation of $9,794,079.

"The balance unprovided for is over $2,000,000 more than the figures of one year ago. The estimates from which it is derived cover only such appropriations as existing legislation requires. In determining the amount of the State tax there must be added all

special appropriations of the present session. The amounts asked for this year by the various departments, boards, commissions and trustees for special purposes, such as new buildings and improvements total $2,629,893.

"Although the General Court of 1914 authorized the borrowing by loans, to be met directly by the State, of only $1,595,000, the direct debt of the State increased almost $4,000,000 during the year, due to the issuance of bonds authorized in former years.

"The net direct debt, indebtedness for which the whole State is directly liable, increased in the five years from Nov. 30, 1909 to Nov 30, 1914, from $18,980,755 to $28,259,906—an increase mainly due to such undertakings as the development of the Port of Boston, State highway construction, the extension of the State House, and the erection and equipment of armories. The interest charges alone upon the State debt now amount to $1,664,303.58."

He advocated the budget system as the only proper and business like way of handling the State's finances and he made several recommendations looking to an improvement in the tax laws and tax collections. After citing many instances of the necessity of strengthening the hands of the tax commissioner, the Governor said:

"I cannot emphasize too strongly the immediate necessity of giving to the Tax Commissioner not only general oversight but actual power over local assessors. This is not a violation of the principle of home rule, to which I am devoted. Under the law even private individuals are not allowed so to handle their own property as to injure others.

"Surely a town cannot be allowed to manage its own affairs in such a way as to injure the other cities and towns of the State and the general interests of the whole Commonwealth. Again under present conditions the temptations are so overwhelming that local assessors are hardly to be blamed for attempting to keep persons of great wealth and industries of great size within their towns by showing them partiality in assessing their property for the purpose of taxation. In many instances local public sentiment clearly, though mistakenly, indorses this practice. But it works great injustice to the rest of the State and to the general mass of tax payers of moderate means, and it can only be rectified by giving to the State Tax Commissioner authority to inquire directly into the methods of making the local assessments, to correct them where they are wrong, and when necessary to remove an incompetent assessor."

And this from an advocate of home rule for cities and towns, but the Governor was confronted with a condition, not a theory.

He again demanded that the transportation, telegraph and telephone companies be compelled to bear the cost of the maintenance of the Public Service Commission. He also demanded that the supervision of the telephone and telegraph companies be returned to the gas and electric light commission but both requests were refused by the Legislature.

"I have reason to believe that many of the parties directly interested in this situation realize their responsibility and are now working out a plan of reorganization which may put this railroad system upon firmer ground. The five Trustees who now control the Boston and Maine may confidently be expected to meet the situation if they are properly supported by those most concerned in it. I conceive it to be the duty of the General Court this year to help the Boston and Maine whenever and wherever the greater public interest will permit us to do so. It is peculiarly a New England institution, and the business morale and prestige of New England have been greatly harmed by its present condition. Its real interests are not different from the interests of the New England public, and recent railroad misfortunes are teaching investors that when those who manage their property propose to do anything harmful to the general public interests they are proposing something that is also harmful to the real interests of the railroad," said he on the railroad situation.

On the calling of a Constitutional Convention he set forth his ideas of subjects which ought to be dealt with, but the Legislature declined to favor the calling of one, taking the ground that there was already a sure, safe and inexpensive method of changing the Constitution. Gov Walsh also urged biennial elections. He recommended the submission of an equal suffrage amendment, but neither one of these two suggestions were acted favorably upon, although the Governor and his friends fought hard for them. He recommended the initiative and referendum. That, too, was defeated. Discussing the need of amending the election laws the Governor said:

"Commendable progress was made last year in correcting the effects which long experience has disclosed in our election laws, notably in the abolition of party enrollment; the creation of an election court above the reach of local politics; the adoption of the English plan of unseating the disqualifying candidates when corrupt practices have been used in their behalf; and the prohibition of unduly large campaign contributions from individuals, whether candidates or their supporters. But you will note that these reforms in no way lessen the demand for heavy campaign expenditures by parties and candidates, in itself a serious and growing evil, however legitimate the object for which the expense is incurred, and that as yet no progress whatever has been made toward the ideal of providing that all legitimate election expenses should be borne by the public in whose interest they are really incurred; and that private expenditures should be strictly limited to the reasonable cost of enabling candidates to visit and address constituencies."

He then outlined his scheme of the State paying certain campaign expenses, but it was rejected. He recommended that the power to grant and regulate liquor licenses, and to control their police force, be restored to the people of Fall River.

On similar grounds, and in accordance with the suggestion of the Civil Service Commission, he recommended the taking away from that commission the power to approve or reject appointees of the Mayor of the City of Boston. The Legislature declined to make the changes urged. Discussing the agricultural situation he said:

"The reorganization of the board on the model last year adopted for the Board of Health, concentrating executive functions in a responsible Commissioner of Agriculture adequately paid for his entire time, and assisted by an advisory council of moderate size compensated fairly but not extravagantly for the time actually given to the work of the department. All the present subsidiary boards, such as the Dairy Bureau, the Bureau of Animal Industry, the Forestry Commission, the State Forester and the Commission of Fisheries and Game, should be placed under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Agriculture as analogous departments have been made responsible to the Health Commissioner."

He did not forget the milk question and more farmers' bait was put out in dealing with the subject. The needs of the Western counties were then discussed:

"I commend to your careful study the report of the recess commission created to consider the needs of the Western counties. I especially approve the advice of the commission as to the changes that should be made in the 'small towns act'; the general placing of thoroughfares under the expert care of the Highway Commission; and the issue of $2,000,000 in bonds to provide for the immediate completion to the main arteries of travel in these counties, instead of continuing the piecemeal construction of unconnected portions, which while the missing links are unimproved, give the farmers little if any better means than at present for transporting their produce to market.

"If you thus give the western counties an adequate system of first-class State highways, with the opportunity which would then be afforded for economical and rapid transportation by motor trucks, there seems good reason to believe that the hill towns would receive more benefit than from any extension of trolley lines that could be possible within a reasonable term of years; and it must be remembered that such lines would require an enormously larger initial investment, and a very much heavier annual charge for operation and maintenance than the most complete and thoroughly constructed system of State highways would entail.

"In any event I must protest against obliging the Commonwealth to begin the experiment of public ownership of transportation facilities by building and operating lines which private capital will not undertake because of the certainty that they cannot pay. Let us begin with a paying proposition if we are to venture at all in this untried field."

This question looked to the practical Republicans as hav-

ing merit as well as votes and they put it through, hoping to reap some of the political benefits themselves. That it helped the Governor in his campaign for reelection in that section there isn't any doubt. He recommended a reorganization of the Prison Commission with a single commissioner having power to appoint two or more deputies and the parole board of five members to be reduced to three.

Trial justices, he said, should be abolished as the fee system was wrong. They were unable to "place cases on file or probation or to use the suspended sentence, and their extremely limited criminal jurisdiction are all conclusive reasons why the office should no longer be retained," said he. The Legislature declined to follow his advice on this matter.

He also recommended the enactment of legislation permitting each savings and insurance bank to issue policies of insurance in any amount up to but not exceeding $1000 on any one life, but that, too, was refused by the Legislature. The old life insurance companies, always well represented on Beacon Hill, saw to that.

He urged that Wisconsin's system of university extension be copied, or improved upon if possible, and that a special department be at once established, with adequate powers and facilities and a liberal financial provision, for this work.

"Two specific measures by which legislation can be greatly improved," said the Governor, "are:

"1—The establishment of a legislative reference library force to furnish to the legislators all kinds of information relating to proposed measures.

"2—The establishment of a drafting bureau which may be called upon by members or committees of the Legislature to put in correct form measures that are desired, so that they may be drawn with reference to previous legislation and existing decisions of the courts."

The proposition was not adopted. A few days after listening to the Governor's inaugural the Republicans called a caucus and solemnly voted to oppose all salary increases, the creation of new boards and commissions and to saddle no unnecessary expense on the tax payers that year. In the main they lived up to it pretty well.

The House, on January 23 voted the $50,000 appropriation asked for by Gov Walsh for the unemployed. Before Albert P. Langtry assumed his duties as Secretary of State, January

21, he offered to continue his work as Secretary of the State House Extension Building Commission without cost to the State, relinquishing his salary as executive head of that commission to which he had been appointed by Gov Foss, but Gov Walsh declined the offer with thanks and named Ex-Congressman John A. Keliher to the place. The Governor also named Edward Fuller, a well known, competent and successful builder to the vacancy caused by the resignation of Commissioner Joseph B. Russell.

An appointment which had held fire for several months was made February 3. A big protest by Boston Democratic politicians had been lodged against Medical Examiner George B. Magrath of Suffolk County. Martin M. Lomasney, it was claimed, objected to Magrath, but Dist Atty Pelletier came forward on behalf of the Medical Examiner and he was finally reappointed.

The women made a gallant fight this year for equal suffrage and the Constitutional amendment striking out the word "male" from the Constitution passed the House by a vote of 196 to 33. The women threw yellow flowers at the House members from the balconies and there was a great demonstration on the occasion, but their rejoicing was soon turned to sorrow for the Senate killed the proposition.

About this time Speaker Cox was married. Both houses made substantial presents to him and the wheels of the law-making branch of the government stood still while the General Court congratulated and felicitated the Speaker on his coming happy event.

Philip J. O'Connell of Worcester, a capable lawyer, and a Democrat, was appointed to the Superior Court. He was confirmed by the Council, causing no little woe among certain Worcester Democrats who desired another named.

The Legislature passed a bill enabling the City of Boston to abolish the East Boston tunnel tolls. Inasmuch as the collection of the tolls was nominated in the bonds on which the tunnel was built, the city had to get the permission of the Legislature to enable it to appropriate an amount equal to the yearly tolls to become a part of the sinking fund to meet the bonds when they matured.

The Sectarian bill was bitterly fought this year. The so-called "Patriotic" societies had for a long time insisted that this amendment to the Constitution was necessary to prevent

private schools from getting public funds. It was aimed at the Catholic Parochial schools. As in all religious contests the feeling ran high and the fight was bitter. Leading Republican members of the Legislature fought the proposition as hard as the Democrats and it was beaten by a close vote in the House, 115 to 107.

In April, Ex-Gov Guild died. The entire State mourned his passing. His popularity with the people had not diminished since he left public office. He had interested himself in raising funds for the Russians and the Poles in the European War and was one of the first to advocate preparedness on the part of the American people, as an insurance against war. His diplomatic experiences abroad had given him an insight into the military preparedness of foreign countries and his intense Americanism impelled him to warn his countrymen of the necessity of being prepared for any military emergency, growing out of the European war.

Great respect was shown his memory by all classes and races. His body lay in state in the Hall of Flags, a spot so near and dear to him in life. Thirty thousand people passed in silent review in the few hours his remains were there guarded by a detachment of the First Corps of Cadets. Every honor the State and its officials could pay his memory was shown, with a feeling that the State he loved and served so long and so well, in peace and war, had lost one of its most brilliant sons.

His friends immediately started a memorial fund which soon reached a figure large enough to warrant the expectation that ere long a fitting memorial of him will be erected, reminding furture generations what manner of man Curtis Guild, journalist, statesman, soldier and diplomat was.

A film play, "The Birth of a Nation," shown in a Boston Theatre about this time was offensive to colored citizens. They protested to the show people in vain. Appealing to the Legislature and the Governor, both promptly joined in passing a law which satisfied them and prevented a repetition of such a play in this State.

Gov Walsh vetoed the law demanded by temperance people prohibiting the transportation of liquor into no license territory.

The Legislature of 1915 authorized the appointment of a commission of seven persons to be known as the Pilgrim

Tercentenary Commission, to devise a plan for the celebration by the Commonwealth of the 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

The Governor named Ex-Gov Curtis Guild, Sherman L. Whipple of Brookline, Rev. Albert E. Dunning, Ralph Adams Cram, Denis A. McCarthy of Winthrop, Ex-Mayor James Logan of Worcester and Arthur Lord of Plymouth to be members of the Commission. On the death of Mr. Guild, Governor Walsh named George von L Meyer to succeed him.

The State tax this year was the largest in the history of the State—$9,750,000 a $1,000,000 more than 1914. The closing session of the Legislature, June 4, was one of the liveliest in many years. For some time Martin M. Lomasney, the most influential Democrat in the Legislature and the Governor had not been pulling together. Lomasney more than once in the session opposed His Excellency. As a parting shot, Lomasney left in the minds of the members his not exalted opinion of the Governor, charging that the latter's railroad bill was a railroad measure in the interest of State Street and that back in his Legislative days Mr. Walsh was a railroad representative.

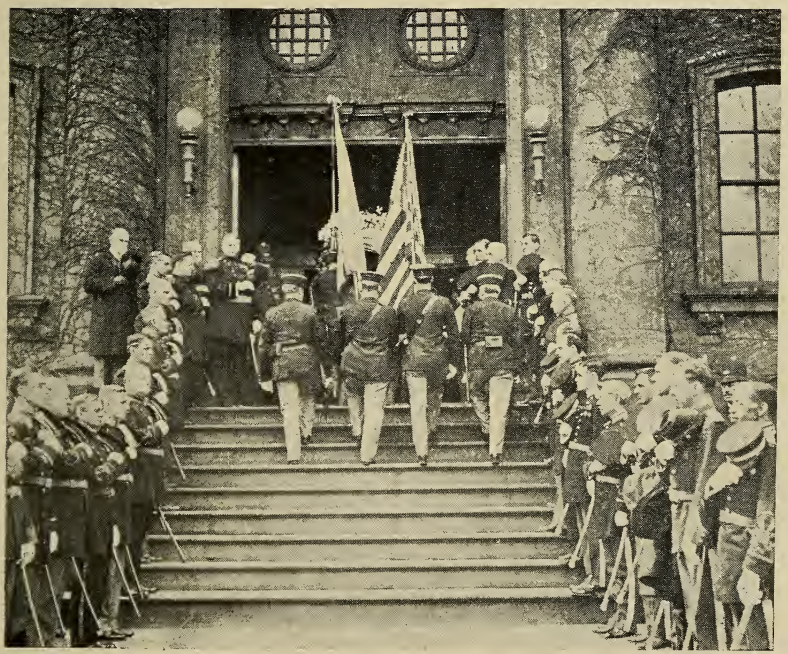
The New Haven railroad measure was up for passage. The two bills the New Haven wanted went through the Senate without serious opposition. The fight in regard to the one relating to the issue of stocks and bonds was not very long in the House, but the bill validating the New Haven securities took most of the afternoon and evening of the closing session of the lower branch.

After a long debate in the afternoon the House, by a vote of 116 to 95 adopted as an amendment to the bill the sections, which Atty Gen Atwill had recommended, requiring the New Haven to absorb the switching charges on freight from the Boston and Maine terminals to the Commonwealth Pier in South Boston.

The bill in its amended form was sent back to the Senate, which refused to concur in the House amendment, but attached an amendment of its own, which provided that the question of these shifting charges should be referred to the Public Service Commission and the Directors of the Port of Boston sitting jointly.

Mr. Lomasney made a long speech in which he vigorously opposed concurrence. He said that the attorney of the Pub-

Military Escort, Curtis Guild's Funeral



(Photos by Huntington, Boston Post)
-Body Being Taken into Church.

lic Service Commission, U S Dist Atty George W. Anderson, was attempting to dictate to the Legislature, and that his conduct was a gross betrayal of a public trust. Mr. Lomasney spoke in the most complimentary terms of Atty Gen Attwill and said that no wires from corporation offices ran into the latter's house or office.

The House on a roll call, 120 to 76, voted to concur in the Senate amendment but with another amendment, that the Attorney General be added to the joint board which was to sit on the question of the switching charges. Once more the bill went to the Senate which quickly concurred in the House amendment, and then the bill was sent to the House, this time for enactment. There was a long delay while the act was being engrossed, but it was finally passed by the House and then submitted to the Senate which accepted it. Gov Walsh signed the bill as soon as he received it from the Senate.

With the exception of the amendment mentioned, the validating bill was passed just as it was reported by the Railroad Committee after its conference with the Governor and the Public Service Commission. The bill in regard to the issues of stocks and bonds was not changed at all. The Legislature did not act at all on the vetoes of the two railroad bills which were passed a week before. Gov. Walsh said he did not care to have action taken and so the vetoes were allowed to remain on the Senate table.

Another interesting piece of legislation was passed by the Senate in its closing hours. Senator Langelier of Quincy offered an order directing the Harbor and Land Commission to investigate the wisdom and feasibility of action by the State which would enable it to take over the Cape Cod Canal; the order asked the Commission to consider the value of the canal to the public in time of war, and any other matters which might bear on the case. All the rules were suspended and the order was adopted by the Senate. The order requested the Commission to report to the Senate and therefore did not require action by the House which, earlier in the session, had rejected a similar order.

The Legislature decided to send a delegation to represent the State at the Panama-Pacific Exposition. The delegation was to consist of the Governor, two members of his military staff, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House,

two members of the Senate, four members of the House and the Sergeant-at-Arms. The amount to be allowed for expenses was fixed at $6000.

The Legislators named were: Senator Charles W. Eldridge of Somerville, Senator Redmond S. Fitzgerald of Boston, Representative Henry Achin Jr of Lowell, Representative Frederick H. Lucke of Worcester, Representative John B. Hull of Great Barrington and Representative Edward F. McLaughlin of Boston.

The special recess commission to investigate terminal facilities in the Metropolitan district was made up of Senator James F. Cavanagh of Everett, Senator Martin Hays of Boston, Representative Herbert A. Wilson of Boston, Representative Fred P. Greenwood of Everett and Representative Robert Robinson of Boston.

The special committee to investigate taxation laws included Senator Nathan A. Tufts of Waltham, Senator Henry G. Wells of Haverhill, Representative George P. Drury of Waltham, Representative Frederick B. Felton of Greenfield, Representative Allison G. Catheron of Beverly, and Representative William M. McMorrow of Boston.

The Legislature was then ready to be prorogued and Secretary Langtry declared that during the session 304 general acts and 384 special acts and 147 resolves had received Executive approval. His Excellency returned five bills and one resolve with his objections thereto in writing in each of which his objections were sustained. He withheld his approval from two general acts and five special acts which became law without his signature. At 11.28 P. M. the Legislature of 1915 passed into history. It enacted 668 acts—general and special—against 796 last year; 147 resolves against 160 last year. In 1914 eight acts and six resolves were vetoed by Gov Walsh, on all of which he was sustained.

Gov. Walsh was disappointed in the Legislature of 1915. The enactment of the bill providing for the reorganization of the Boston and Maine Railroad was pleasing, the Governor said, but he felt that he could fairly claim the credit of it, independent of the Legislature, inasmuch as he had advocated it in his two inaugural messages. The rejection of several important taxation measures, the Governor said, was a serious omission as was the failure for the passage of a resolve for an investigation of the telephone rates by the Public Service Commission.

"I must confess that there was a display of partisan spirit which was most unfortunate," said he, "and that some matters which I urged were received with scant courtesy. This fact I deplore as much as anybody but apparently there was no help for it.

"Even in the matter of university extension and correspondence courses the Legislature went only part way. When I suggested the plan to the leading educators and to the members of the Committee on Education it was agreed that a separate board should handle the new system, but the Legislature saw fit to place the work upon the State Board of Education which already has many duties.

"The rejection of the insurance bills upon which the special commission spent many months and which were intended to benefit the State to a large extent, is also a matter of deep regret."

August 28, Ex-Gov Long died. He was one of the noblest and ablest of the Old Guard. He graced every office he ever filled, public and private, and left an honored name. His good nature never deserted him. He was of the old school which never displays its riches or allows the public to become too familiar with their personal affairs. He was kind and considerate to all; never snobbish or conceited. He was scholarly, poetic, virile, manly and upright in politics and in his profession. He never intruded at party councils, but when summoned always responded and did his share of fighting for the party that had honored him with high office in State and Nation. A modest man, his obsequies were in keeping with this character. He was one of the most gifted sons the State of Maine sent to the parent Commonwealth, and his adopted State admired and appreciated his splendid talents.

CHAPTER XLIX

CONTEST FOR REPUBLICAN NOMINATION, 1915—CUSHING BEGAN CAMPAIGN FOR GUBERNATORIAL NOMINATION SOON AFTER HIS ELECTION AS LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR—DEFEATED BY McCALL IN THE PRIMARIES—COOLIDGE BEATS HAM FOR SECOND PLACE—GOV WALSH AND EX-LIEUT GOV BARRY HEAD DEMOCRATIC TICKET WITHOUT OPPOSITION.

BECAUSE Lieut Gov Cushing got into the gubernatorial nomination campaign very soon after his election, affecting to believe that he was the Republican Moses in the year 1915, owing to the big vote he received in November of the previous year, Mr. McCall felt the necessity of an early start in the contest for renomination. Cushing as candidate for Lieutenant Governor received almost 20,000 more votes than McCall as the candidate for Governor. Cushing talk among the politicians was growing. McCall's fighting blood was up. The year before he wouldn't fight for the nomination. This year he would not only fight, but he would fight to the last ditch.

Ordinarily, McCall would receive the second nomination as a matter of course, but times had changed. Party custom no longer commanded respect in certain quarters. With an aggressive in the field, Mr. McCall saw that he would have to busy himself. Late in January he issued a statement to the Republicans, saying that personally he didn't want to precipitate a party fight so soon after the election, but because of the activities of the other aspirant for the nomination, he felt obliged to do so.

Two days later, Cushing came out in a statement, pointing to his own flattering vote for Lieutenant Governor, declared that he felt that a younger and more active man was necessary to make a successful fight for the party and that he intended to test his strength with McCall in the primaries. The Cushing candidacy stirred Republicans all over the State and the Legislature was divided into two factions over the question.

Cushing having plenty of leisure time, managed his own

campaign. His services as Speaker of the House and the campaign he made for the Lieutenant Governorship had increased his acquaintance in the State. He kept moving about, seeing old and new political friends. Ere long McCall felt the necessity of a practical campaign manager. Handling the details of a State-wide campaign, seeing Tom, Dick and Harry and listening to their schemes, good, bad and indifferent, was not to the liking of a man of Mr. McCall's tastes. Twenty years in Congress had made it impossible for him to know personally every little politician in his party at home. It was essential that somebody be taken into camp who did and that he be given the management of affairs. Mr. McCall selected Charles S. Baxter for the task. Baxter had a reputation as a campaign manager. He had acted in that capacity for Louis A. Frothingham in the latter's candidacies for Lieutenant Governor and Governor.

Baxter was installed in charge of the McCall boom and began to lay the wires for the nomination. He had a good working knowledge of the State and soon the situation began to shape up. For weeks, both sides jockeyed for place. It was not until after the Legislature adjourned that the work of many long tedious weeks began to show results.

Congressman Gardner, an old friend of Cushing, came out for the Lieutenant Governor, because, he explained, Cushing had managed his campaign when he ran for Governor in 1913. Those who knew about the conduct of that campaign smiled. They knew that Captain Gardner was unmanageable. Early in September, Congressman Gardner arranged a meeting in behalf of Cushing on his farm in Hamilton, announcing that none of the "Big Wigs" of the party would be there—just plain, ordinary Republicans, would be on hand, he said. At this time, Mr. Cushing claimed that Ex-Senator Crane had passed the word in the Western part of the State to be for McCall. He made a flippant reference to the Ex-Senator and cried out that the "interests" were against his nomination and were for his opponent.

He specifically charged that one of the newspapers which had not supported his candidacy was owned by certain corporate interests, who also controlled other avenues of publicity, and he aroused considerable interest by sending to the Federal Trade Commission in Washington a letter calling attention to similar charges made several years before by the Boston American and repeated in the House by the Democratic Congressman Thayer of Worcester, asking the Trade Com-

mission to enter upon an investigation of Thayer's assertions. The appeal was so evidently actuated by personal motives that nothing ever resulted from it, but there was much feeling among Republicans that one who was seeking a nomination in Republican party primaries should thus attempt to utilize for campaign material unfounded sensational charges originally printed and exploited by a Democratic Congressman. It was feared that this method of campaigning would arouse factional feeling and disseminate charges against a candidate who might win in the primaries and against whom if nominated these charges could be revived by the democratic opposition after the primaries, even though they happened to be without any foundation in fact.

Mr. Cushing had been a member of the Legislature several years and had held several representative offices in the party and the party organization. It was the first time he had ever rebelled at Senator Crane's political activities or raised his voice in public protest against corporation influence in party affairs. Prominent in the support of Mr. Cushing for the nomination, were the so-called "Guardians of Liberty," "Minute Men" and others of their ilk, who were fighting for the so-called sectarian amendment to the constitution which had received the support of Mr. Cushing in the Legislature.

Mr. McCall deplored the lugging of religion into a political campaign and declared at a meeting in Lynn, that he would prefer defeat by 100,000 votes, to victory under the black flag of bigotry. Mr. McCall belonged to the Senator Hoar school of Republican politics. Old timers recalled the occasion when the A P A defeated the venerable statesman as a candidate for delegate to the State convention, because he would not subscribe to their un-American principles. Senator Hoar gladly accepted the proffered credential of a young American-Irish Republican, who had been elected from another Worcester ward and he participated in the convention, shaming those who had tried to deny him the right to represent his fellow citizens.

At a meeting of the Franco-American Club, Sept. 5, Mr. Cushing explained the proposed sectarian amendment, saying:

"I wish to state plainly my position in regard to the amendment to the constitution which has for its object to prevent the appropriation of public money for schools, universities or other religious institutions.

"For political reasons some will try to make you believe that I am anti-Catholic. On the contrary I have the greatest respect for

Gov. McCall Greeting a Suffragist on His Way to the Polls

Senator Weeks Entering the Capitol at Washington

the Catholic Church. Religion must not mix in politics and politics must not mix in religion and it is indispensable, especially in a country like ours, composed of so many races, and so many religions, that the government should avoid all religious disputes.

"Note that this amendment refers only to public funds. Everybody has in the United States perfect liberty to worship God as he likes, and churches have the right to establish schools and religious institutions, provided that they do not demand that the government come to their aid. No one wishes to take away these privileges. But education, which is provided for by taxes imposed upon all the citizens or by public funds, must be under the direction of the State and must be kept uniform.

"Our citizens have the right to send their children to the public schools, to private schools or to educate them at home. Only if they wish an education other than that which the public schools offer, they must pay for this education themselves and not expect that it will be paid for by the State . The same applies to colleges and other institutions.

"Although by the constitution money raised by taxes for school purposes cannot be spent except for public schools there is apparently no provision which prevents the appropriation of other public funds for schools and religious establishments.

"Religious liberty is guaranteed by the Constitution; the separation of church and state must be guaranteed as well. The Constitution will operate exactly the same against Protestants, Catholics and Jews, if by any chance they seek to maintain their institutions at public expense. And the proper time to amend the constitution is before anyone makes a demand upon the public treasury.

"This is not a religious question, my friends. It is a matter of sound public policy."

Ex-Gov Foss added gaiety to the campaign by announcing himself as a candidate for the Republican gubernatorial nomination on a Prohibition platform. He made a few speeches and issued several broadsides of Foss literature, but few took him seriously. Politically he was dead.

William Shaw, a real, simon pure Prohibitionist threatened to run in the Republican primaries for the gubernatorial nomination, unless the Republican leaders came out for National Prohibition. The leaders refused to comply with Mr. Shaw's demand and he started to get into the fight, but something happened to his nomination papers and he had to content himself with riding on the Water Wagon at the polls.

Shortly after the Legislature adjourned, President Calvin Coolidge of the Senate announced his candidacy for second place on the Republican ticket. Councillor Guy A. Ham of Boston was already in the field. Coolidge's entrance into the contest meant that he would have the Western part of the State. August H. Goetting of Springfield, who had run on the State ticket and was defeated by Cushing last year, declined to enter the fight. Coolidge was popular and had in-

fluential friends who helped him. Councillor Ham made a splendid campaign practically single handed, but was defeated by Coolidge.

There were three candidates for Auditor, Cook the incumbent, Samuel B. George of Haverhill, and Senator Edward C. R. Bagley of East Boston.

The Democrats were kept in doubt for some weeks about the candidacy of Governor Walsh. First he would and then he wouldn't and finally he put off a definite answer until his return from the Panama Exposition. Ex-Lieut Gov Barry stood ready to jump into the breach if the Governor was unwilling to make the run again. There was a lot of feeling among the party leaders against Gov Walsh, but he didn't intend to bring on a primary fight if one could be avoided and he held off until August 7, when he formally announced that he would run for a third term.

The Progressive party nomination went begging and it was given to Nelson B. Clark of Beverly, after some of the leaders had expostulated with him for trying to steal Cushing's thunder and making the sectarian constitutional amendment his paramount issue.

The Democrats had a little diversion on the side in their campaign this year. Congressman Dietrick of Cambridge was a candidate for the Democratic nomination on the issue of National Prohibition, announcing that he would campaign afoot from one end of the State to the other. He made a brave attempt, starting at the New York State line in Berkshire county, but his campaign petered out and he learned that preaching Prohibition among Democrats is not conducive to great enthusiasm or a large crop of primary votes.

The vote at the primary was as follows:

REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR

Samuel W. McCall	65,942
Grafton D. Cushing	59,799
Eugene N. Foss	9,775
McCall's plurality	6,143

REPUBLICAN LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

Calvin Coolidge	74,592
Guy Ham	50,401
Coolidge's plurality	24,191

REPUBLICAN AUDITOR

Alonzo B. Cook	54,286
Edward C. R. Bagley	33,671
Samuel W. George	28,469
Cook's plurality	20,615

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNOR

David I. Walsh	74,442
Frederick S. Dietrick	3,255
Walsh's majority	71,187

DEMOCRATIC ATTORNEY GENERAL

Joseph Joyce Donahue	54,143
Harold Williams Jr.	11,187
Donahue's majority	42,956

The returns showed that Cushing carried the counties of Essex, Plymouth, and Suffolk. Middlesex county, the home of McCall, where the heaviest Republican vote is cast, was split pretty fairly, the vote being Cushing, 16,277; McCall, 18,879.

In the Coolidge-Ham fight the loser carried only the Counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, by 752 and 387 respectively.

Cushing accepted the result, supported McCall and presided over the State convention at Tremont Temple, Oct. 3, which adopted the platform on which the party was to appeal to the people for their votes in November.

CHAPTER L

CAMPAIGN OF 1915—McCALL DEFEATS WALSH FOR GOVERNOR—WALSH'S REMARKABLE VOTE—FIRST REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR ELECTED IN FIVE YEARS—PROGRESSIVE VOTE DROPS TO 6000—EQUAL SUFFRAGE DEFEATED.

MR. McCALL insisted on making the Republican platform attractive to the Progressives. To this task he gave his attention after the primaries and it required all his tact and diplomacy to bring it about. The "Old Guard" still refused to subscribe to many of the tenets of the Bull Moose political faith. Ex-Senator Burbank, a Progressive, who had returned to the Republican party was made a member of the committee on resolutions, of which Congressman Gillett, of Springfield, was chairman. Mr. Burbank insisted on the so-called social welfare planks being incorporated in the resolutions. It was necessary to bring all kinds of influences to bear on the committee to consent to this. The Progressive wing demanded a declaration favoring an eight hour day for those who were employed in industries running 24 hours a day. A compromise was reached by agreeing to ask legislation for "reasonable hours" of labor for those so employed.

Mr. McCall and his friends breathed easier after they had induced all elements to agree on the platform, but there were two recalcitrants, Ex-Gov Foss, who wanted his National Prohibition plank, and Ex-Senator Seiberlich, who demanded another declaring against a loan to the European Allies to help finance the great European War. Both resolutions were referred to the committee on resolutions under the rules of the convention.

Congressman Gillett, for the Committee on Resolutions, quickly reported against the resolution opposing loans to foreign countries. Mr. Seiberlich spoke for five minutes in behalf of his resolution. Mr. Gillett said the committee had previously considered the proposed resolution and had voted against it. The delegates to the convention voted almost unanimously against the proposition.

Mr. Gillett also reported that the committee disagreed on

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE, 1892, ON ADMINISTRATIVE BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS.
Standing—Giles, Somerville; Appleton, Peabody; Carter, Wakefield; Harding, Medfield. Sitting—McCall (House Chairman), Winchester; Butler, New Bedford; McEttrick, Boston; O'Brien, Marlboro.

the resolution in behalf of National prohibition. Mr. Foss spoke for it, saying: "I am not here to make apologies for my political conduct. I am here as the representative of more than 10,000 Republicans who voted for me in this issue in the primaries.

"This issue of National prohibition is the compelling issue today and the sooner we recognize it the better. If this State is to have the greatest efficiency in its industrial establishments it must 'cut out' the liquor."

Mr. Foss went on to make the plea in behalf of National Prohibition which he made so many times on the stump in the primary campaign. Mr. Gillett said that the committee had considered the prohibition plank also. He made a rather sharp rap at Mr. Foss, saying that the latter had underestimated the strength of his cause. "Far more than 10,000 Republicans in this State believe in National prohibition, but they did not approve of the candidate who appeared as sponsor for that reform," said he. Mr. Gillett said that the great majority of Republicans believed in temperance, but that they disagreed about the way in which to bring it about. He asked the convention to reject the resolution and by a vote of 1042 to 298 the Mr. Foss' plank was rejected.

"To redeem the State is the first duty of Republicans," declared the platform.

"The reunited Republicans are resolved that in preparation for the National election of next year Massachusetts shall resume her traditional position at the front of the Republican column. Our internal dissensions, now happily ended, seem light compared with the calamity they have produced, and with mutual respect and forebearance we unite for the common good."

Faith in the policy of protection was reaffirmed, "strengthened by what we are witnessing in European countries and by our present experience under the Democratic system.

"The spasmodic and scattered war contracts are a poor substitute for the secure and steady markets under protection.

"We demand a competent and independent tariff commission such as the Democratic party has abolished, which shall furnish the facts necessary for an equal, impartial, unsectional law. We want protection given as a right to all, not sold as a favor to some.

"The Democratic tariff is a failure in revenue as in business but this has not prevented unprecedented raids upon the Federal Treasury and a vast increase of National expenditures. Despite enormous additional revenue derived from an income tax and misnamed war tax and vexatious stamp taxes, the Treasury has run behind $90,000 in two years."

Wilson's Mexican and European policies were condemned. On the question of the appointing power it said:

"We believe that the Commonwealth needs a return to the Re-

publican standard of appointments to office, based upon fitness and not upon political influence. We believe that men and women who have rendered splendid public service should be continued in the service and not be removed to make places for political supporters.

"It does not make for efficient management when important offices are left vacant for months, no matter how seriously the filling of those positions may affect the political fortunes of the appointing power. We believe that when a public servant is removed and grave causes assigned for such removal, he should be given a fair and full hearing. The Republicans of Massachusetts condemn star chamber proceedings in all tribunals, and especially in the office of the Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth."

The party committed itself to a constitutional convention adding:

"We are, however, unalterably opposed to any change in the constitution affecting the tenure of office of the judiciary or to any change in the Bill of Rights. We recommend the adoption of the short ballot and executive budget system, thus co-ordinating the powers of the Executive Department and creating an executive head of the government, responsive and responsible to the voters of the State."

It favored biennial elections.

The progressive welfare planks were as follows:

"We favor further extension and development of opportunity for vocational, technical and general education and training; healthful housing and fire protection; reasonable hours and conditions of labor, especially in those industries continuously operating for 24 hours; the creation of labor exchanges and the development of such industrial organizations as will tend to minimize unemployment and to distribute its effects when unavoidable over the entire industrial field.

"We call to the attention of the Legislature the subject of social insurance and the consideration and investigation of some system which will protect the home life against the hazards of sickness, irregular employment and old age.

"But we do not believe in offering public aid as a substitute for industry and frugality.

"We favor the establishment of additional free State scholarships for needy and worthy students in our technical schools and colleges, under the supervision of the State Board of Education."

The platform concluded with a tribute to the candidate for Governor, Samuel W. McCall.

Mr. McCall addressed the convention outlining the reforms he favored—biennial elections, greater executive responsibility and the short ballot. On the question which he permitted his opponent for the nomination to have a monopoly of in the primary campaign, Mr. McCall said:

"Very many of our citizens sincerely believe that an amendment of our constitution is necessary in order more definitely to prohibit the union of church and State and the granting of appropriations to sectarian institutions. There is no one who would more heartily than myself support whatever change might be necessary to perfect what for generations has been considered the fundamental principle of our political system, the absolute divorce of church and State.

"But such a change can be best secured by taking the subject

entirely outside the realm of ordinary party controversy. Indeed it is doubtful if it can be secured in any other way. For such a problem a constitutional convention would be really fitted to provide a wise solution and one that would be likely to give satisfaction to all our citizens."

Concluding Mr. McCall said:

"You have this day adopted a forward-looking platform which meets my full approval and upon which I squarely stand. We welcome the co-operation of that splendid body of men who have as leaders such men as Charles Sumner Bird and Joseph Walker, Trojan or Tyrian, Progressive or Republican, will be treated by us with no discrimination.

"The men who think alike upon the great questions of government will, I believe, vote alike this year, and with no side issues we shall triumphantly carry the election in November. Such a result will be big with fate to our Commonwealth; it will be a glorious harbinger and a good omen to the country in the great National battle upon which we are about to enter."

On motion of Ex-Mayor Howard of Brockton, the delegates arose and stood in silence as a mark of respect to John D. Long and Curtis Guild, two Republicans Governors who died during the year. The familiar face and form of Senator Lodge was missing and noted at the gathering owing to the recent death of his wife.

The Democrats met the same day at Faneuil Hall. Harold Williams Jr of Brookline, who had been defeated by Joseph J. Donahue of Medford, for the nomination for Attorney General, was the temporary chairman of the convention. Mayor Curley of Boston, was the permanent presiding officer. Ex-Atty Gen Thomas J. Boynton, chairman of the committee on resolutions, reported the platform.

The first plank indorsed the administration of the President and the Governor. Other planks favored strict neutrality and the enforcement of American rights against all belligerents; "adequate preparation for National defense"; abolition of the poll tax and other sweeping reforms in the taxation system; favoring a constitutional convention; favoring the abolition of the executive council; reiterating the indorsement of the initiative and referendum; favoring free halls for political rallies and printing by the State for free distribution circulars setting forth the claims of political candidates; home rule; opposing the prevention of roll calls "as practiced by the Massachusetts Senate of 1915;" a thorough investigation of telephone rates; no increase in traffic rates of public service corporations unless the companies seeking the increase have been honestly capitalized and honestly and economically

managed; reclamation of waste lands; encouragement and assistance for milk producers; favoring savings bank life insurance; favoring old age non-contributory pensions and a reform in the administration of the Mother's Aid law; urging reforms in the prison system and favoring the extension of popular education.

Governor Walsh and Ex-Lieutenant Governor Barry both addressed the convention.

"Our Governor," said Mr. Barry, "is the knight-errant, the Sir Galahad of the 20th century, who is seeking the chalice of fraternity for his fellow men. His holy devotion to the cause of mankind is contagious; it has spread from man to man in the Democratic ranks and inspired by such a leader, such a spirit, such a cause, our zeal will overcome all obstacles.

"If Governor Walsh and his Democratic associates fail this year there will be written a chapter in Massachusetts history that will deal with the end of the poor man's child seeking political preferment in this Commonwealth. We are at the parting of the ways. To refuse another term to our Governor would be worse than a crime; as the French revolutionist once said, it would be a blunder. Let us stand together then—all for victory."

Governor Walsh's popularity with the delegates was demonstrated by the loud and prolonged cheering which greeted him. In his speech to the convention he drew this indictment of the Republican Legislature, saying:

"Your administration tried in vain to bring about an inquiry into the causes of the depressed condition of our agriculture with a view to devising proper remedies.

"Your administration's renewed recommendations for a constitutional convention was rejected by a practically solid vote of the Republican members.

"The Legislature refused also to adopt the election reform which I urged to provide for official information to the voters upon the merits of questions referred to them and the qualification of the candidates.

"Suggestions regarding prison reform, including the taking over of county jails by the State, were summarily rejected although the latter reform was incorporated in the Republican platform of last year.

"The long needed budget system and veto power vested in the Governor over separate items of appropriation bills, without which an economical administration of the public revenues cannot reasonably be expected, were also rejected.

"But the roll of legislation in the interest of the people rejected does not end here! Let us see what explanation our opponents will make to the people of Massachusetts for the rejection of the following proposed legislation which your administration pressed in the interests of the people of the State.

"The Republican majority in the Legislature refused to penalize bank officials for collecting bonuses from borrowers for making loans

and for other abuses of trust in cases where such officials are in collusion with money lenders who charge exorbitant rates of interest.

"They declined to abolish the trial justice courts which still maintain the obnoxious fee system, thereby denying to citizens of our Commonwealth the privileges of probation and suspended sentence and similar ameliatory methods of our reformed criminal procedure.

"They denied the people an inquiry into the milk situation, an inquiry into all the facts pertaining to the decline of this industry and the steady increase in cost of this wholesome and most important food.

"They failed to provide better facilities for the distribution of farm products to the end that the producing farmer as well as the consuming laborer or mechanic might obtain advantages that cannot be had under present transportation conditions.

"They refused, while professing to believe in home rule, to grant local self government to the city of Fall River, which has on three different occasions petitioned by vote of a substantial majority of its citizens that it be given the right to control its local police force.

"They refused to provide opportunities at the public expense for the discussion of political principles in meeting places in different communities of the Commonwealth.

"They denied free conveyance to the polls of voters physically incapacitated, which, if done, would remove from politics the corrupting necessity of raising large campaign funds for the purpose of getting out the vote.

"They refused to permit in either branch of the Legislature a roll call on the initiative and referendum, notwithstanding the fact that in five different Representative districts, where a test was made of public opinion, the people by a vote of almost three to one expressed themselves in favor of this important reform.

"They again rejected the long-advocated request of cities and towns to be allowed to deal in necessaries of life in times of public distress, and opposed and defeated the making of workmen's compensation compulsory.

"They boldly rejected the recommendations of the Governor and the Public Service Commission for an inquiry as to telephone and telegraph rates and service in this Commonwealth, notwithstanding the fact that there has never been a public governmental inquiry respecting these matters in the several cities and towns of the State except one, held several years ago, dealing with conditions in the Metropolitan district.

"They again rejected the plan to make public service corporations defray the cost of their regulation, thereby refusing to save nearly $200,000 annually in State tax."

On motion of Prof Edwin A. Grosvenor of Amherst, the Democratic candidate for Secretary of State, who married a cousin of Ex-President Taft, the convention adopted resolutions expressing sympathy for Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in the death of his wife. Prof Grosvenor made a brief but exceedingly eloquent and appropriate speech in offering this resolution and the sentiment was cordially indorsed.

McCall and Walsh immediately began their tour of the

State for votes. The Progressives flocked back to the Republican party. Few paid any attention to Clark, the Progressive candidate for Governor. The National Progressive committee looked into the situation here, saw that Charles S. Bird and others were supporting McCall and shipped Candidate Clark into the small towns in the Western part of the State when the campaign was well under way, where he could talk to his heart's content and do little damage.

The campaign was waged with great vigor on both sides. No part of the State was neglected. Senator Lodge was prevented from taking his usual active part in the debate owing to a deep domestic affliction on the very eve of the primaries. Senator Weeks contributed his wonderful organizing ability to securing McCall's election, rallying his friends to McCall's support, and while seeking no personal advantage himself cheerfully performing the necessary drudgery of a campaign which elicits little popular applause. He had been urged by leading Republicans all over the United States as the most available Republican candidate for President, and some of his supporters pointed out to him that the redemption of the State with Mr. McCall as Governor would divide national attention between the two and perhaps endanger his own chances in the Republican Convention; but he responded promptly that his own political fortunes were not to be considered at such a time; that his first duty was to elect a Republican Governor. His future must take care of itself. Mr. McCall made a wonderfully active canvass. He talked horse sense to Republicans, reasoned with the vagabond and erring brethren of the fold, coaxed a lot of them back, succeeded in arousing Republicans and made them feel that at heart there was a hope of success if they would get out and work. Governor Walsh, too, put up a splendid campaign.

The result showed that every effort was needed, that the friends of Weeks, Crane and McCall could not have left a stone unturned. With all their efforts McCall won by a plurality of only 6000, while Coolidge exceeded by 46,000 the vote of Barry for Lieutenant Governor.

William Shaw, the Prohibition candidate for Governor, received almost exactly 20,000 votes, enough to establish the Prohibitionists as a political party, but less than the most sanguine supporters of Mr. Shaw expected. Last year the Prohibition candidate for Governor received only 5000 votes.

Clark, the Progressive candidate for Governor, received 6975 votes. Joseph Walker, the Progressive candidate last year had about 32,000 votes. Mr. Clark's vote was not nearly enough to retain the standing of the Progressives as a political party and the Bull Moose was legally dead.

The total vote of the State for Governor, including the ballots marked for the candidates of the smaller political parties, was more than 500,000, by far the largest vote ever cast. The vote was due in a large measure to the interest in the equal suffrage amendment, which was defeated by a vote of about two to one. The majority against the amendment was overwhelming almost everywhere; two or three small towns in Berkshire county were the only ones which voted in favor of it. The suffragists were beaten by over 127,000. The entire Republican State ticket was elected. The Republican lead in the Legislature was increased.

Governor Walsh received about 25,000 votes more than he had last year. Mr. McCall received about 41,000 votes more than he had in 1914.

After five years of wandering in the political desert, following false prophets, the Republicans had arrived once more on Beacon Hill and had come unto their own. The record and character of Samuel W. McCall gave them hope for a prolonged stay.

CHAPTER LI

THE PASSING OF GOVERNOR WALSH—THE STATE "REDEEMED"—REPUBLICANS COME UNTO THEIR OWN—STATESMANSHIP AND SANE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP COMBINED IN SAMUEL W. McCALL.

AFTER it was reasonably certain that he had been defeated, Gov Walsh did not hesitate a minute election night to congratulate his Republican opponent. Indeed, while at a banquet, where it was rumored that the election was still in question, the Governor arose, dispelled the doubt and called for three cheers for the victor.

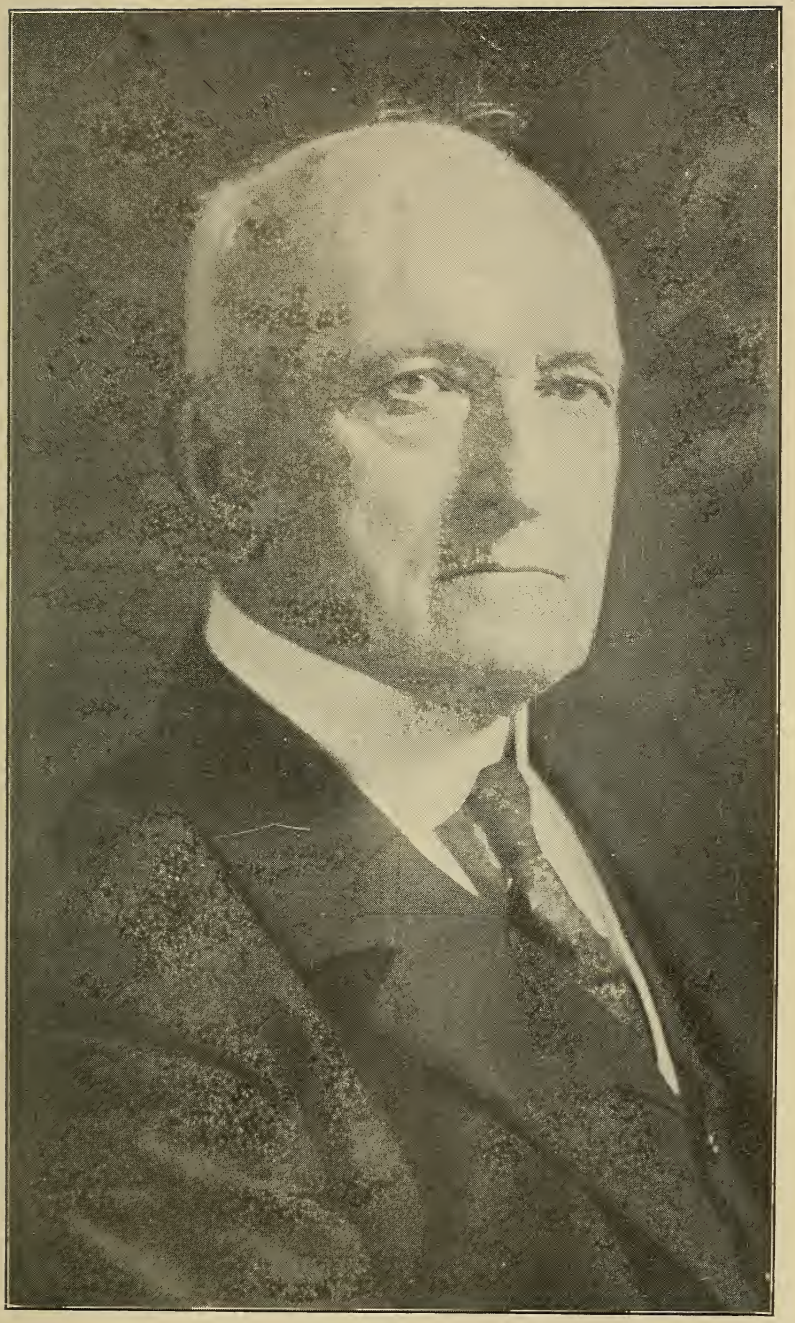
"I wish to say that I am glad that I am to have so worthy and honorable a man as my successor in office next year," said the Governor to the diners. "I congratulate Massachusetts. For my own part I have no regrets. I made the best fight I could and in my heart I know that I have tried to be a faithful and conscientious Governor. I am, indeed, grateful for the magnificent vote I received. It appears that Republican Massachusetts prefers to have a Republican Governor rather than a good Democrat." The remarkable vote of Governor Walsh demonstrated his popularity.

In a statement overflowing with gratitude to all who contributed to the victory, Governor-elect McCall said, while the victorious shouts of his supporters could still be heard:

"After many defeats and much wandering in the wilderness Massachusetts has been redeemed. This is the greatest Republican victory since John A. Andrew. It would have been enough to contend against Governor Walsh alone, for with the exception of William E Russell, he is the most popular Democrat who has appeared in our State politics since the Civil War. But there were two other candidates in the field who waged very energetic campaigns.

"The victory was due to the activity and enthusiasm of the Republicans and to the potent aid that we received from the Progressives, with Charles Sumner Bird and other leaders at their head. I believe the result means very much to the Nation.

"We have won a great fight and the responsibility devolves upon us to make it of benefit to the Commonwealth. In order to make victories possible in the future I ask the co-operation of all Republicans towards giving Massachusetts the best possible Government."



Governor McCall.

The one discordant note was uttered by Shaw, the Dry candidate, who declared:

"The organized liquor vote of Massachusetts knifed Governor Walsh to elect Samuel W. McCall, in a desperate effort to prevent the Republican party from adopting Prohibition. It was their only hope. They have apparently succeeded in electing Mr. McCall by a meagre margin, but they have failed utterly to crush Prohibition."

Governor Walsh did not share publicly, at least, the righteous indignation of Mr. Shaw. In a few days the political situation settled down to a normal condition, the Governor finding plenty to do in clearing up his appointment list and cleaning out his desk for his successor.

The Governor-elect made a trip West for rest and recreation, accompanied by his campaign manager, and was gone three weeks. Election night Congressman Gardner declared that, in his opinion, McCall's election meant that he must be reckoned with in the list of Republican presidential possibilities and this opinion was shared by others in different parts of the country. On his return from his Western trip Mr. McCall called on Gov Walsh to pay his respects. The Governor offered his successor every facility at his command for the purpose of aiding him in preparing his inaugural. The Governor-elect accepted the offer of quarters at the State House for office purposes, pending his inauguration.

After election the Executive Council showed a disposition to refuse to allow Governor Walsh to have his own way on certain appointments. They declined to depose David T. Dickinson of the Industrial Accident Board, whose term had expired, and they would not confirm the appointment of Judge O'Brien of Marblehead, as Judge of the Boston Juvenile Court, although they promptly ratified the Governor's selection of his private secretary, Thomas F. Connolly, as Judge of the Brighton District, Municipal Court.

Jan. 6, 1916, Governor Walsh officially received his successor at the State House and after the customary formalities, turned over the office to Mr. McCall, bade the attaches of the Executive Department good bye and left the capitol. When the oath of office had been administered to Mr. McCall, the customary salute of 21 guns was fired on the Common by a battery of artillery and the first term of the 44th Governor of Massachusetts under the Constitution began.

In Samuel W. McCall, Massachusetts got a different kind of a Governor than it had been accustomed to in recent years. Government with men of the McCall type is serious business, not a vaudeville show. Back of Mr. McCall's dignity was strength of character, a wide knowledge of public men and affairs, and a firm determination to do the right thing. His independence was well known to the people of the State. He refused to follow his party when it embarked in exploiting the Philippines and holding subject races. That was distasteful and revolting to his ideas of a Republic, nor would he tolerate the third term idea for a President, though the aspirant was of his own party.

He has the habit of thinking for himself and keeping his own counsel. Broad and liberal minded, tolerant, versatile, eloquent, amiable, democratic, Mr. McCall's great talents for public service may yet find a wider field for their activities.

An orator of recognized ability, Mr. McCall is blessed with the ability to write as well as speak. As an essayist he attracted attention in college and since he entered politics he has made a name for himself as an author and debater of high standing.

For many years he has been in great demand all over the country as a speaker, and he has made many notable addresses. His orations and books deal mostly with public men and questions of State.

He is the author of the life of Thaddeus Stevens, the radical Republican leader in Congress during the Civil War epoch. Mr. McCall's life of Thomas B. Reed, published a year ago, was a labor of love, as he was one of Mr. Reed's warm personal friends and enthusiastic admirers.

His oration on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the birth of Daniel Webster, delivered at Dartmouth College, is classed among the greatest eulogies of the "Godlike" Daniel, and put Mr. McCall in the front ranks of American orators.

While Mr. McCall is a serious minded man he possesses a degree of humor which he sometimes exhibits not only in his conversation with friends but in his speeches and writings.

He likes a clean joke, and can tell one as effectively as a professional rib tickler. His laugh is hearty, but not boisterous. His wit is dry; his smile captivating.

Within the covers of his book, "The Life of Thomas B.

Reed," are many stories illustrating Tom Reed's wit and wisdom and demonstrating Mr. McCall's own fund of wholesome humor. A few examples will not be out of place by way of illustration.

"Mr Reed," says Mr McCall, "was one of the shining marks for the Greenback orators in the campaign of 1880. Reed was always a 'hard money' man. A Greenback orator followed Mr Reed into one of his meetings and interrupted him to dispute one of his statements. Reed reaffirmed it.

"'Well,' said the Greenback orator, 'I want to state that I have the law in my satchel, which says that the banks cannot bank on less than 6 per cent bonds.'

"'Law in his satchel,' replied Reed, 'if this gentleman had the law in his head, he would be a much more useful and reliable citizen.'"

Mr. McCall relates a story of the squelching of Sunset Cox, a famous Democrat and wit of his party in Congress. Cox was belittling the State of Maine, and referring to liquor drinking in that State in a speech in the House.

"'The Republican party drinks a good deal of whisky clandestinely that we do not know anything about," remarked Cox.

Reed's reply to Cox was: "'When my friend from New York drinks it, it does not remain clandestine very long.'"

On another occasion, answering Reed in the House in a rough and tumble political debate, Cox sent this shot across to the Republican side of the chamber: "'If ignorance and impudence would make a statesman, the gentleman from Maine would be a Bismarck.'"

Another one of Mr McCall's friends in Congress was Uncle Joe Cannon of Illinois. In his life of Reed, Mr McCall tells the following story of Reed and Cannon:

"Mr. Reed was not greatly addicted to cards, although he enjoyed an occasional game.

"On going out for an evening's game he sometimes delighted to affect a ruse to explain his absence. On leaving home one evening, he said to Mrs Reed: 'I am going to call on the Italian Ambassador, Guiseppe Cannoni.' A few evenings later he repeated the same thing to Mrs Reed.

"'But,' she replied, 'I thought the Italian Ambassador's name was Count ————.'

"'No,' said Reed, 'it is Guiseppi Cannoni, vulgarly known as Joe Cannon.'"

In the campaign against the Mills tariff bill, Mr Reed was in great demand at Republican meetings. He used to claim that the best market in the world was America, and then he would tell the following story:

" 'You are asked to give up such a market for the markets of the world. Why, the history of such transaction was told 2400 years ago. It is a classic. You will find it in the works of Aesop, the fabulist.

" 'Once there was a dog. He was a nice little dog. Nothing the matter with him, excepting a few free trade ideas in his head. He was trotting along happy as the day, for he had in his mouth a nice shoulder of succulent mutton.

" 'By and, by he came to a stream bridged with a plank. He trotted along and looked over the side of the plank and he saw the markets of the world and dived after them.

" 'A minute after, he was crawling up the bank the wettest, the slickest and slimiest looking dog you ever saw.' "

The Democrats didn't like the way Reed ran the House and they named him "Czar Reed." One day Speaker Reed was counting a quorum of the House under his own rules, when Joe Blackburn of Kentucky arose with much dignity. Holding a large book in his hand, Blackburn said, addressing the chair:

"I deny your right, Mr. Speaker, to count me as present, and I desire to read from the parliamentary law on the subject."

Reed raised a hearty laugh by coolly saying in reply, with his usual drawl:

"The chair is making a statement of fact that the gentleman from Kentucky is present. Does he deny it?"

Mr. McCall's career may be epitomized as follows:

Born in East Providence, Pennsylvania, February 28th, 1851.

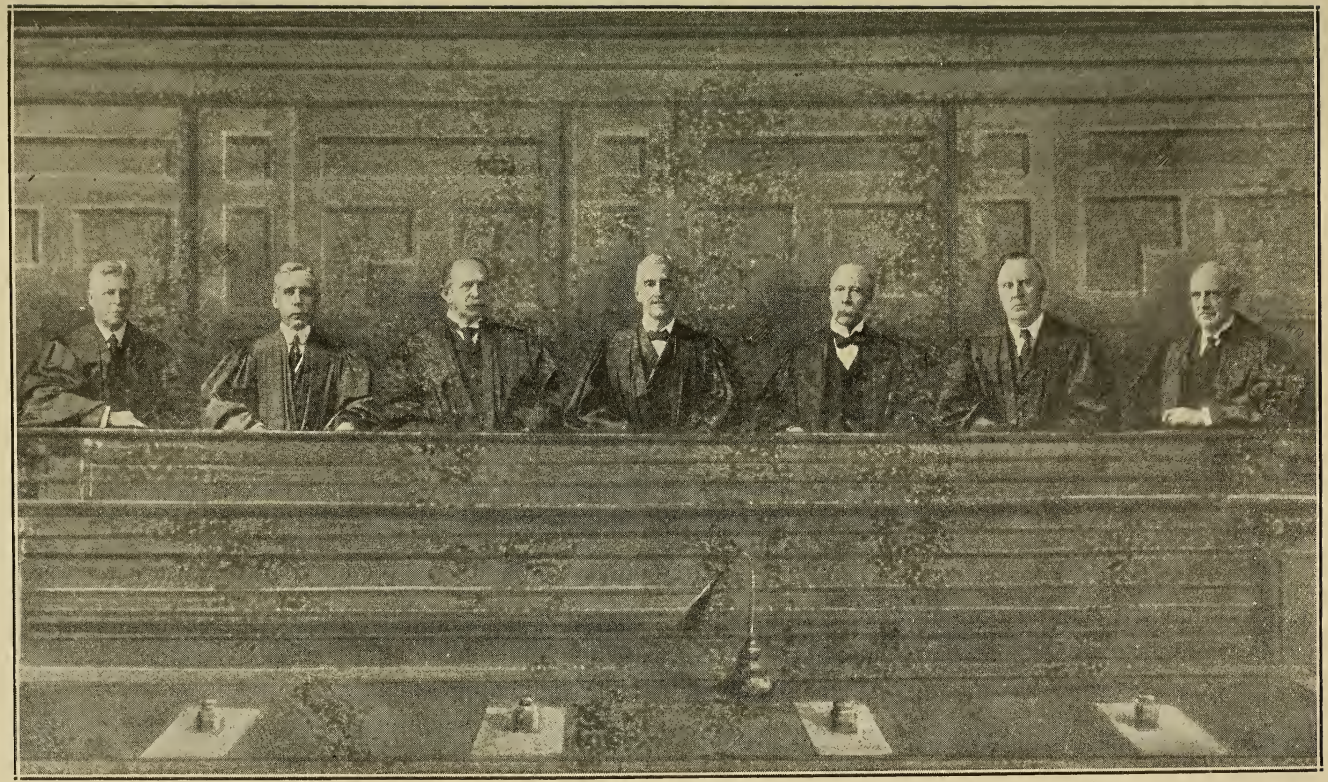
Attended New Hampton, New Hampshire, Academy and Dartmouth College, graduating from the latter in 1874.

Taught country school, studied law and was admitted to the Bar, practicing in Boston.

Served for some years as Editor in Chief of Boston Advertiser.

Elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1888, 1889 and 1892.

Delegate to the Republican National Convention of 1888 and 1892.



(Photo by Notman, Boston)

THE SUPREME COURT of MASSACHUSETTS in SESSION.

Justice Pierce, Justice DeCourcey, Justice Loring, Chief Justice Rugg, Justice Braley, Justice Crosby, Justice Carroll.

Represented the Eighth District in the Fifty-Third, Fifty-Fourth, Fifty-Fifth, Fifty-Sixth, Fifty-Seventh, Fifty-Eighth, Fifty-Ninth, Sixtieth, Sixty-First and Sixty-Second Congresses.

Author of biography of Thaddeus Stevens and Thomas H. Benton, "The Business of Congress," "The Life of Thomas B. Reed."

When he retired from Congress Mr McCall's neighbors and friends in Massachusetts tendered him a banquet, which was attended by representative men of both of the leading political parties.

The future of the Republican party in Massachusetts depends much on the administration of Mr McCall. He may make it possible for it to continue in power or he may blast the hopes of its friends. In all probability, Mr McCall will please neither the extreme Progressive or the stalwart Standpatter of his party. Happily, Mr McCall's public record and leanings, encourage forward looking men and women to believe that he will treat all important public questions, from a broad and liberal standpoint and that no act of his will set back the hands of the political clock. He realizes that if the Republican party is to continue as a vital political force in public affairs, it must strive to lead the procession of sane progressiveness, not lag behind.

"Unawed by influence and unbribed by gain," Mr. McCall has shown in his public career that his loyalty to the political ideals of the founders of his party has not suffered at his hands. Never an extreme partizan, he has in his power to give the State an administration, second to none in the history of the Commonwealth in ability, efficiency and saneness. That this will be his aim, those who know him feel assured.

From the beginning of the government Massachusetts has stood high among the States in the character of its representatives in Washington and this has been true especially of its representation in the United States Senate—Webster, Choate, Everett, John Quincy Adams, Winthrop, Sumner, Wilson, Hoar come easily to mind; and it is a boast of the State that during the great crises of the country's history her Senators have in almost every instance loomed higher than those of any other state. It has been her fortune to have Senators who supplemented each other's qualities. Webster, of course, was the greatest of all Senators and with him dur-

ing the period of the great constitutional debate were men noted for sanity and clearness of judgment and practical efficiency. During the time of the Civil War and Reconstruction, Sumner was indisputably the greatest intellectual figure in the Senate, and by his side was Henry Wilson, the wisest political leader in Washington, the most influential in the transaction of the essential public business. Hoar and Dawes supplemented each other: Hoar and Lodge formed an unequalled combination; Lodge and Crane when they served together gave Massachusetts an influence unapproached by any other State; one through his distinction as an orator, a debater and a student of public affairs, the other through his wisdom, his sanity and his marvellous facility in the handling of men. The same conditions prevail now with Lodge and Weeks. Though members of a minority party, they have an influence on legislation far out of proportion to that enjoyed by Senators from any other State.

These two men make a legislative team with which the Senators from no other State dare invite comparison. Lodge is the master mind of Washington in all matters relating to foreign affairs, Weeks in all matters relating to finance and business. Both work shoulder to shoulder for Military and Naval preparedness, and both labor with complete harmony in advocacy of all political measures. So long as they remain in the Senate, Massachusetts will rank at the very top in influence in national affairs. No other combination can rival them in usefulness to the State.

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